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SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HERDER.*

THE life of Herder is closely interwoven with the general history of philosophy and religion in his age and nation. Rising by the force of native genius from an obscure and humble station, he gained an elevated rank in literature by the variety of his attainments and the versatility of his powers; and of him it might be said, with even more propriety than of our own Goldsmith, that there was scarce a topic in the wide range of human knowledge, which he had not touched, and that he had touched none which he had not adorned. A scholar, a poet, a philosopher, and a divine, to whatever subject he turned his thoughts he threw upon it the light of his own brilliant imagination and the warmth of his expansive and sympathising philanthropy. The diversity of his gifts, the extent of his acquirements, his copiousness of illustration, and his peculiar talent of seizing the prominent features of a subject, without exploring its minuter details, admirably fitted him to exert a powerful influence on the popular mind, and, more especially as a preacher and a divine, to strip religion of its pedantic forms and dogmatic phraseology, and to cultivate it as an universal feeling—a natural element—in the moral constitution of man. In Herder, theology was constantly blended with history and literature. Madame de Staël (*De l'Allemagne*, ch. xxx.) has well observed, “Un homme d'un genie aussi sincère que Herder devoit mêler la religion à toutes ses pensees, et toutes ses pensees à la religion.” In relation more particularly to this last and most interesting view of his character, we propose, in this and some following articles, to furnish our readers with an account of the life, labours, and writings of this eminent individual.

John Godfrey Herder was born on the 25th of August, 1744, at Mohrungen, a small town in East Prussia. His ancestors appear to have emigrated,

* Herder's *Sämmtliche Werke*. Carlsruhe, 1822. Herder's *Leben* von C. L. Ring. Carlsruhe, 1822.

in the preceding century, from Silesia, probably in consequence of religious persecution; and the recollection of this circumstance perhaps contributed to strengthen the deep sense of religion for which the family of Herder was remarkable. His father was the teacher of a female school, and rendered himself respectable in that lowly station by his piety and the conscientious discharge of his duties. From his mother Herder inherited warm domestic affections and a sympathising tenderness of heart. Their mode of life was distinguished by its order, regularity, and harmony, and by a patriarchal simplicity of manners. At the close of every day the whole family assembled to unite in singing a hymn. To these simple exercises of domestic piety Herder always looked back in after life with peculiar emotion; and to their first impression on his infant mind, combined with the remembrance of a happy and affectionate home, and the almost exclusive limitation of his early reading to the Bible and the Psalm-book, may reasonably be traced the profound devotional sensibility which pervaded all the subsequent effusions of his genius, and his decided predilection for oriental poetry.

Herder received his earliest instruction in literature at the grammar-school of Mohrunge, which was at that time under the superintendence of a rector named Grimm, a man of exactness and diligence in his calling, but withal stern and pedantic, and ill qualified to cultivate the taste and develop the finer sensibilities of a mind like Herder's. To this instructor of his youth Herder, however, always confessed his obligations; and the following description of him, as an amusing picture of a German school-master in the middle of the last century, we give in the graphic colouring of Herder himself:

"Notwithstanding his severity, and *grim* as he looked (for his appearance corresponded to his name) with his pale complexion and his black peruke, I must still acknowledge myself indebted to him for having grounded me in learning. He insisted strictly and inexorably on having the rules of grammar exactly learned. Every lesson, whatever it might be, he made us repeat over many times, till we completely understood it, and had fixed it in our memories. During the repetition of the lessons, we were required to stand; a practice which accustoms the scholars to a respectful demeanour towards their teacher, and enforces attention to the lesson. He insisted on the highest reverence being paid to him by us school-boys; the instant we saw him, and came in sight of his dwelling, we took off our hats. On the other hand, with all his strictness, he cheerfully testified his satisfaction with the industrious; and some few, of whom I was one, he particularly distinguished, by allowing us to accompany him in his walks, during which we were to gather speedwell and cowslips for the tea which formed his daily beverage. I have ever since been fond of speedwell and cowslips; they remind me of those walks of my youth, and of the praise and approbation of my old master. Sometimes he would invite one or two scholars, whom he wished especially to honour, into his study, to partake of a cup of this tea with a small lump of sugar; and this was regarded as a peculiar mark of favour and distinction. For myself, he always appeared satisfied with me, and shewed me kindness and attention."

Under this instructor, Herder made very considerable proficiency in Latin and Greek; and, notwithstanding the many depressing influences to which the development of his tender and sensitive genius was exposed, his thirst of knowledge continually increased, and he gratified it by obtaining the loan of books from his friends. He once pointed out Italy on the map to his sister, with the enthusiastic exclamation, "O my beloved Italy! I must see thee one of these days." From his childhood he was passionately fond of music, and acquired some knowledge of it at school; but always regretted that he had not enjoyed in youth better opportunities of instruction both in music and

drawing. In the freedom and solitude of nature he found the highest enjoyment. Securing himself by a strap to the branches of a cherry-tree in his father's garden, he would lie for hours with a book in his hand, listening to the song of the birds and inhaling the fragrance of flowers; and as an instance of his acute sensibility at an early age, he mentions, in one of his letters to his future wife, written in 1771, that, when he was beginning to read Homer, the well-known and beautiful comparison, of the transitoriness of human generations with the withering of autumnal leaves, involuntarily drew tears from his eyes. One of his favourite rambles was along the banks of the Lake of Mohrungen, a scene to which he pensively alludes in his little poem, "Dreams of Youth."

His earliest religious impressions were derived from the instructions of Willamov, at that time pastor of Mohrungen, and father of the poet of the same name; a man for whom Herder conceived the tenderest affection, and from whose character he borrowed, in one of his subsequent essays, the outlines of an ideal portraiture of the Preacher of God.

When Herder had completed his sixteenth year, this amiable clergyman was succeeded by Sebastian Frederic Trescho, a man of very different spirit, gloomy in his views, and of a melancholy, unsocial temper. He took young Herder into his service, and employed him in transcribing his writings for the press. The stern influence of this new spiritual guide was calculated to depress and dishearten the ardent, but timid and distrustful mind of Herder. Trescho, as he himself afterwards acknowledged, mistook the shyness and reserve of his youthful inmate for want of ability, and, instead of encouraging the development of his genius, actually dissuaded him from study, and even tried to induce him to learn some mechanical trade. Herder's residence in the house of Trescho was however advantageous to him. He had access to a library, and enjoyed a quiet and a freedom from interruption for the pursuit of his studies, which the stir and bustle of his father's school would scarcely have allowed him at home. Here he became acquainted with the writings of his favourite Kleist, and with several of the older German poets. On entering his chamber late one evening, Trescho found him lying asleep on the bed, his candle burning, and the floor covered with a heap of Greek and Latin classics, and various German poets; and on being asked next morning whether he understood all these books, Herder replied, "that he was endeavouring to understand them." Some time afterwards Trescho had occasion to send a small piece to a bookseller in Königsberg, and commissioned Herder to transcribe the manuscript and see it dispatched. In the course of a day or two the bookseller wrote to Trescho, that he had received in the packet a spirited little poem, addressed "To Cyrus, the grandson of Astyages," which he had immediately printed, and which had obtained the approbation of good judges, and that he would now thank him to name the author. It was Herder who acknowledged his authorship with a blush and a smile. This little piece was the earliest of his productions. It is called the Song of a Captive Israelite, and was written on the accession of Peter III. to the Russian throne, chiefly alluding to his conclusion of a peace with Prussia and his recalling from banishment numerous exiles of Siberia. As the first known effusion of Herder's muse, it is remarkable for its adaptation of the language and imagery of Scripture to a subject entirely modern.

Trescho has recorded a curious circumstance which occurred some time before this; though it will be seen that its connexion with Herder is doubtful. One Sunday afternoon Trescho found a sealed note lying on the con-

fessional. He opened it; the handwriting was unknown to him; but he found that it contained strong expressions of a consciousness of guilt and sin, which had been excited in the mind of the writer by a recent discourse of Trescho's, and concluded with a request that he would leave an answer to it in the same place where it had been deposited. This was accordingly done; but nothing further ensued. Trescho afterwards imagined, that he discovered in the handwriting a similarity to Herder's, when he wrote hastily; though he confessed that he could perceive no alteration in the youth himself; he continued as silent, reserved, and thoughtful, as before. It is remarkable that Herder was never known to allude to this incident, in speaking of the circumstances of his youth, and that Trescho's answer was not found among his papers after his death. It may, however, be, that Herder, whose mind was strongly susceptible of devotional impressions, was really the author of the note in question; but that, finding the answer ran in a strain which was not congenial to his own feelings and convictions, he did not pursue the intercourse any further, but rather shrunk from the spiritual dominion of a man who seemed disposed to hold his mind in fetters, and never encouraged the free and natural development of his powers.

When Herder was about seventeen he was entered on the military roll for his district, and lived in constant fear of being for ever carried away from his beloved studies. His diminutive stature and a lachrymal fistula in his eye, with which he had been troubled from his childhood, perhaps saved him from a destination so opposed to his wishes and so unworthy of his genius. But he could never afterwards disguise his strong aversion to the military government of his native land, and gave utterance to this feeling in one of his earliest poems, "the Suckling." To the state of anxiety and apprehension, in which, at this period of his life, he continually lived, he was accustomed to ascribe that timidity and depression of spirit, which he afterwards found so inconvenient on occasions demanding promptitude and decision.

A happier fate was, however, awaiting him. On the termination of the seven years' war, a Russian regiment took up its winter-quarters at the beginning of 1762 in Mohrungen. The surgeon of this regiment, a man of information and respectability, was acquainted with Trescho and with the parents of Herder. He was struck with Herder's appearance, and inquired what were his attainments: upon receiving a favourable answer, he promised to take the young man with him to Königsberg, and there to attempt the cure of his diseased eye, and to instruct him in surgery. In return for these services he expected Herder to translate a medical treatise for him into Latin, and undertook to furnish him in the sequel with the means of further prosecuting his medical studies, if he should desire it, at St. Petersburg. Herder embraced the prospect of deliverance from his present state of confinement and fear with delight, though he had no taste for the study of surgery. All his friends and acquaintance entered warmly into his views, heartily wished him success, and liberally contributed, according to their means, to equip the young adventurer for his first entrance upon life. In the summer of 1762 he quitted Mohrungen with his friend, and bade a first and a last adieu to his excellent parents.

His intention was, in accordance with the views of his friend and patron, to devote himself, on arriving at Königsberg, to the study of surgery. Previous to quitting Mohrungen, he had acquired some knowledge of botany; but he was unable to overcome the disgust and horror which he experienced at witnessing anatomical dissections. The first impression produced fainting; nor was the effect diminished by repetition. So delicate and sensitive

were his feelings, that even the mention of a surgical operation painfully affected him. This insurmountable weakness again deranged his plans. In his embarrassment he applied to his friend Emmerich, who had been his school-fellow at Mohrungen, and disclosed to him the wish, which he had always secretly cherished, to enter on the study of theology. His doubt was whether he was competent to undergo the previous examination, and had funds sufficient to pay the admission-fee. Emmerich quieted his apprehensions on both these points. He passed through his examination with great credit; and, after paying the fee on matriculation, he found a small surplus remained. Herder had now entered on the course of life which was most congenial to his character and genius, and, for the first time, felt perfectly satisfied and happy. His friend the surgeon, who had brought him to Königsberg, was somewhat disconcerted, as might be expected, at this change of purpose; and represented to him in strong terms the poor exchange which he had made of the brilliant prospects offered him in the medical profession at Petersburg, for the very best situation which he could ever hope to obtain as a Prussian parish-priest. Herder, however, was satisfied with his choice; and, after faithfully executing for his friend the translation, which he had undertaken, of his medical treatise into Latin, applied himself with the greatest zeal to his new pursuits. He wrote to his friends at Mohrungen, to inform them of his altered views; but promised that he would be no additional burden to them, as he would find the means, by private tuition, of maintaining himself. A small sum was, however, raised for him amongst his friends; but this, when added to his gains by teaching, afforded after all a very scanty maintenance; and he often related, in after life, that many a day he had subsisted on one or two small rolls. At the university he had the opportunity of benefiting by the instructions of some eminent men, and, amongst the rest, of the celebrated Kant, who, at that time, lectured on Logic, Metaphysics, Morals, Mathematics, and Physical Geography.

At the house of the bookseller Kanter, to whom he had become known by his little poem "To Cyrus, the grandson of Astyages," he always found a welcome reception. Kanter allowed him the free use of the books in his collection, and introduced him to several men of letters who frequented his shop. In return for these kindnesses, Herder wrote little essays and poems for the Königsberg Chronicle, which was then published by Kanter.

In 1763 he obtained, in consequence of his eminent abilities and his many friends, an appointment as teacher in the Frederic's-College at Königsberg, where he distinguished himself by the zealous and effectual discharge of his duties. Herder does not appear to have altogether relished the spirit of this establishment, which was formal and pedantic. One of the inspectors insisted on Herder's mounting a peruke as an indispensable requisite to an efficient teacher; but in spite of this, Herder preferred the cheaper covering of his own natural hair. His spirit of pure and simple piety was more especially revolted by the sanctimonious air of religion which then reigned in the college, and which procured for it the name of the "Place of Pietists" (*Pietisten-Herberge*). His means were increased in 1763, by having a *stipendium* assigned him, which, with his situation in the college, set him more at ease, and left him more leisure for the prosecution of his studies. He always, however, conceived, that he had improved himself by instructing others, and continued to hold the office of a teacher in high estimation.

Herder entertained a very great regard for the personal character of Kant, although, even at that early age, he was by no means a devoted adherent to

his philosophy, and became afterwards one of the most strenuous opponents of what he considered to be its perversion and misapplication. Kant had not at that time adopted the peculiar terminology which has rendered the subsequent exposition of his philosophical principles so obscure, but was accustomed to express himself with perspicuity and eloquence. Herder imagined that he had formed a juster conception of Kant's philosophy than some of his later disciples. The metaphysical lectures of Kant appear, however, to have been those in which Herder took the least interest. At the conclusion of one of them, he would hasten into the fields with a favourite poet or with a volume of Rousseau, in order to get rid of the unpleasant impression which it had left on his mind. Kant, on his part, had a very high opinion of the judgment and abilities of his pupil, and frequently submitted his manuscripts to his consideration.

One of Herder's principal friends at Königsberg, and one who perhaps exercised the most powerful influence on the future bent of his taste and genius, was John George Hamann, a man of original mind and elegant acquirements, who was then filling some unimportant ecclesiastical office, and chiefly occupied himself with polite literature. He had resided for some time in London, and was acquainted with the English language. He first introduced Herder to Shakspeare. Shakspeare and Ossian were Herder's favourite poets; and to the impressions produced on his mind at this period of his life may perhaps be traced the development of that peculiar fondness for national poetry, which always distinguished him, and the elements of which had been already deposited in his mind by his familiarity with the poetry of the Bible. The high tone of moral and religious principle in the character of Hamann formed a bond of peculiar strength between him and Herder. A letter from Hamann was a moment of delight for the latter; he would escape into the fields to enjoy the luxury of reading it undisturbed. From this valued friend he parted, on quitting Königsberg, never to see him more.

During Herder's residence at Königsberg he lost his father; and the small patrimony, which accrued to him in consequence, he made over to his mother, whom he was afterwards able more effectually to assist.

Towards the close of the year 1764, he received an invitation to fill the office of Coadjutor in the High-School at Riga; a situation to which the kind interference of his friend Hamann contributed to advance him. Before Herder quitted Königsberg, he was fated to be the witness of an awful conflagration which lasted five or six days, and which gave occasion to one of his early poems, distinguished, like many of his others, by a pervading application of scriptural language and imagery. An incident occurred at this time which forcibly realizes to the mind the misery and degradation inflicted on every rank of society by a despotic, and more especially by a military, government. Herder, a man of genius, a scholar, and a student in theology, was actually compelled, before he was allowed to set out for Riga, to take an oath before the military tribunal, that he would return if he should be wanted as a soldier. Most unwillingly he took the oath, and bade his country a bitter farewell.

At Riga we find Herder, besides entering on his duties in the High-School, appearing in the new character of a preacher. In both of these functions he gave great satisfaction and acquired distinguished reputation; though his elegant acquirements, his liberal views, and his growing literary fame, rendered him obnoxious to the envy and jealousy of his weaker brethren. He was afternoon-preacher at a remote church in the suburbs; but, notwith-

standing these unfavourable circumstances, was greatly followed, especially by the young. His sermons were distinguished by a peculiar glow of fancy and sensibility, which his animated countenance and the affectionate tones of his voice brought fully home to the heart. In early life he was accustomed to write out his discourses word for word, but usually employed, at the same time, an abbreviated sketch and distribution of his subject, to which, in latter years, he entirely confined himself, filling up the outline by the extemporaneous effusion of his thoughts in preaching. Those of his discourses, which were printed after his death, appear to have been written out by him, subsequent to delivery, for the gratification of particular friends. Writing to a friend on this subject in 1775, he says,

“What I here send you is not a sermon, but a scheme. I preach, as much as I can, in a popular strain. I cannot write a sermon at my desk, but preach only from a plan or outline. What I afterwards compose is thus a regular treatise, with all the stiffness which belongs to my written style, or else merely a scheme and a recollection of what I have said in preaching.”

J. G. Müller, the brother of the celebrated historian of Switzerland, a pupil of Herder's, and the editor of his theological works, has left us a charming description of his revered instructor's pulpit-eloquence :

“He knew how to speak directly to the heart—to the holiest principle in the soul of man—his religious sentiment; sometimes with all the zeal of a glowing eloquence, and sometimes with a gentleness that refreshed the tenderest heart. Correspondent to this was his style of delivery; with a noble calmness and dignity of manner wholly free from all violence and noise, he spoke through the understanding to the heart, disclosed its secrets with a profound knowledge of mankind, detected errors in their most hidden retreats, and, without falling into vague generalities, but with constant application to individual situations in life, he administered such admirable advice, consolation, instruction, and encouragement, that it might have been thought he was saying to one what was spoken to many.”*

In his preaching he is said to have confined himself to the development of scriptural ideas, which he deduced from an analytical exposition of the text. All dogmatical and ascetic forms of speech he carefully avoided, as only exciting sectarian associations, and as destructive of true feeling. A sermon,† which he delivered at Riga, on the Divinity and Use of the Bible, throws an interesting light on the state of his religious views and sentiments at this period of his life; and while it shews how his mind had been enlarged by the study of general literature, and by the habit of seizing upon the national spirit of the productions of different ages and nations, conveys some admirable suggestions as to the duties of a Christian teacher, which, perhaps, after the interval of more than half a century, are not yet altogether superfluous. After having alluded to the unreasonable objections raised by many against the Bible in consequence of the oriental form in which its truths are expressed, he proceeds,

“If the Bible be a divine work, in what Christian family should one book at least not be found, in which the principal and most instructive passages in the Bible are explained in a clear and simple manner, according to the notions of our age? If the Bible be divine, then should public discourses exhibit the truths of religion in that mode in which they would most easily be comprehended in the present day. In this view, I think I shall be perform-

* Herder's Werke. Religion und Theologie. Erster Theil. Vorrede, S. 15.

† Christliche Reden und Homilien. 2 ter Theil. S. 293.

ing my duty, if I endeavour, in my sermons, to abstain from all expressions which we have learned by rote in the catechism, or have become acquainted with from the prayer-book, and make a point, on every occasion, in order to explain the language of the Bible, to translate it into the current language of our own age and our own mode of life; if I endeavour to accustom every one of my hearers, in words which I borrow, in a manner, from his own tongue, to think for himself, and to think along with me; in order that he may finally learn, without the use of unintelligible phrases got by rote, to speak on these subjects, in a language as natural and as unconstrained as that in which he would express himself on all matters in the world."

The pervading idea of this excellent discourse is, that the Deity must express himself, in any particular revelation, through the medium of those modes of thinking and speaking which prevailed in the age and nation in which the revelation took place, and that the object of modern theology is to seize upon the spirit of these ancient representations of religious truth. Herder loved the orientalisms of the Bible; there was something poetical in the fervour of his devotional feelings; and Madame de Staël says of him, "Qu'il avoit pour la Bible un genre d'admiration semblable à celui qu'un Homère sanctifié pourroit inspirer." This sentiment rendered him comparatively indifferent to the dogmas of modern systems, though we have no reason to think that he had renounced, at least during the period of which we are now speaking, the doctrines generally reputed orthodox.

259 "Why should I feel a difficulty," says he, in the discourse already quoted, "in becoming a Christian, because I cannot, with my reason, comprehend the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity? Why should I puzzle myself about the mode in which God has regarded the merits of Christ, whether he were truly a ransom and a satisfaction to take away the sins of the world, or only a motive and a means to the improvement of a sinful world, that through that improvement it might be reconciled to God? In either sense, he is a sacrifice, and in either sense, something, the minute consideration and exposition of which does not immediately concern me. There is a relation between God and Christ—how can I define it? Enough for me to know, that I am not, for Christ's sake, released from all the obligations of virtue, but that, if I am innocent and upright, I may console myself with believing, that once for the whole of the world, of which I am a citizen, a sacrifice such as this was offered up. Moreover to define the mode of the redemption lies wholly beyond the province of human reason, and therefore can be no subject for human inquiry."

On the subject of inspiration he thus expresses himself:

265 "God has revealed himself to the soul of a human being who is to express the revelation in writing: how did this take place? Was it, that this same man ceased for the moment to think, and that God thought for him? Impossible! To think is the essence of a human soul. A soul that does not think within itself, has lost its reason, the freedom of its will, its very being; it is no longer a human soul; it is a nonentity. Thus, the moment that a being external to me interrupts the train of my thoughts, and interposes immediately other thoughts, which are not mine, of which I know nothing, and for which I am not responsible, from that moment I cease to be a man, since the essence of my soul is taken away. And were the Deity to act in this way, but for a single moment, he would perform a miracle of the same kind, as if he had completely annihilated a human soul,—and when he again allowed me to resume my own powers of thinking, had created one anew. What a contradiction! No; it must be evident to every one from the Bible, that every writer has thought just as, according to the capacity of his mind, the direction and proportion of his intellectual powers, the mingling of his temperament,

and even according to his acquired knowledge and skill in writing, every one had the power and the will to write. John, Paul, Isaiah, Solomon, David, all have their peculiar mode of writing and thinking; even Jesus Christ—even he, according to the expression of Paul, was a minister of the circumcision: born amongst Jews, educated in Jewish modes of thinking, living and preaching in the midst of Jews, he reared amongst them, and amidst the ruins of their own religion, his own purer, nobler, simpler, and more practical religion, the principles of which his apostles after him more widely diffused and more perfectly developed. Thus every sacred writer dedicated the powers of his soul on the altar of God; the Holy Spirit itself consecrated his temperament, and hallowed it to be an instrument of God's purposes. We thus see that God, in a nobler way and in a mode more conformable to his being, through the medium of thoughts and words, is the Author of the Bible. His omniscience had, if I may so express myself, as it were, a nearer eye on the soul of his holy penman: his grace, which exists in every part of the creation, and which sustains with energy every being at every moment, as if it were every moment new-created—illuminated then the depth of their souls in a divine and marvellous manner. Either in dreams or in a waking elevation of the senses it brought forms before the eye of the imagination, and fastened their attention on the same. Thus thoughts arose in their souls, and along with them came words; these flowed to their pen, and became a book for posterity and a rule for the church. They thought under the inmost inspection of God, and under the guidance of his grace; but still always retained in writing their own souls, their own modes of thinking, their own forms of expression; God did not speak *for* them, but *through* them; they were teachers of the church; and what is there revolting and unseemly in this representation of the divinity of our scriptures?"

The favourite object which Herder pursued through life, with undiminished zeal, at once in his literary, his philosophical, and his theological capacity, was the improvement and elevation of human nature; he loved mankind, and therefore he wished to ennoble and to bless them. It is delightful to trace the workings of this glorious principle even at the commencement of his career. In a discourse,* preached at Riga, on taking leave of his congregation in 1769, he says,

"Humanity, in its full extent, with all its noble sentiments for God, itself, and others, with all its brotherly and sympathising emotions, with all its grateful duties, with all its lofty faculties and capacities for happiness,—humanity, in this wide and comprehensive sense, has ever been the great theme of my sermons, my instructions, and my exhortations. To this only object my preaching was directed; it was human. If I have never puzzled myself with dark and curious questions, with incomprehensible mysteries, and with consecrated subtilties; if I have always chosen that view of a subject, which lay nearest to a human soul, which made the deepest and strongest impression on the heart; if I have always endeavoured to express myself in human language; in all this I had no other end and object than to become a worthy instructor of mankind. I know, that all my hearers have not entered into my views on this subject: I know, that many have had the kindness to represent me as a philosopher in black clothes, who did not preach like a theologian, but whose lessons were better adapted for the Professor's chair, and for the study of the learned, than for the pulpit. These hearers have judged too uncandidly concerning me. What I have delivered in the pulpit and at the altar was any thing but learning—was always some precept or observation deeply concerning the interests of mankind. I have never been a mere lecturer, but have always preached with the feelings of a man, with the

288

* Christliche Reden, &c. 2 ter Theil. S. 325.

whole language of my heart and of my sympathy. I have always spoken from the overflowings of my bosom, and as one who was zealous for the well-being of mankind. Hence it was my incessant object to lead men to the enjoyment of their existence, in all innocence of heart and purity of conscience, but at the same time, in the full exercise of all their powers, tendencies, and capacities; since this is directly the object of God in our existence. If then I preached philosophy, it was a philosophy of human nature; I spoke the word (alluding to his text, James i. 21), that I might make happy a human soul."

There is great force in this concluding observation of Herder. We oftentimes meet with persons who seem to entertain a strange misconception as to an imaginary distinction between scriptural and philosophical language. What is frequently decried as the adoption of human phraseology is nothing more than a necessary and meritorious endeavour to convert Hebraisms into equivalent English, to shew what are corresponding feelings and views in our actual state of manners and opinion, and to present religious ideas in that distinct and familiar form which renders them at once intelligible to the understanding and affecting to the heart. We should not wish indeed to dissipate the sublime vagueness of the scriptural representations of the character and attributes of the Supreme Being, which the grandeur of oriental imagery is better fitted to impress on the mind than all the laboured preciseness of metaphysical diction. But in regard to the practical relations of men towards each other, towards Christ, and towards God, it seems highly desirable, by a due appreciation of the difference which subsists between the modes of thinking and speaking in distant regions and remote periods, to endeavour to form such conceptions of the fundamental truths of religion as may not involve either superstition or uncharitableness, but may harmonize with the expanding intelligence and philanthropy of mankind. These fundamental truths cannot themselves undergo a change; they are fixed in the immutable will of God; they are those first principles of religious truth which are breathed by his spirit into the depth of the hearts of his chosen messengers and prophets: but the outward forms, in which they manifest themselves, must necessarily vary from age to age, and receive a bias and impression from the manners, institutions, and philosophy, of the particular period in which they are promulgated. So that perhaps those persons who so strenuously insist on retaining the exact phraseology of the Scriptures, to the exclusion of what is called philosophical language, will oftentimes be found to neglect the pure and everlasting word of God, which can only be brought home to the heart through the medium of familiar associations and the force of well-known terms, for the mere husk and shell of an antiquated diction and an exploded philosophy; and to prefer measuring the altitude and bearings of the great truths of revelation, from the point of view under which they must necessarily have been contemplated by a Jewish mind, to the more elevated position from which Christians may now survey them. Herder appears to have entered fully into the force of the Scripture, that "the letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive;" and we shall truly rejoice if a somewhat detailed account of his life and writings shall prove the means of diffusing or of strengthening the enlightened, devout and benevolent spirit by which his conduct, opinions, and labours, were actuated.

(To be continued.)

WEST INDIAN SLAVERY.

IN a former article we urged some arguments to prove that the proper use of government is to teach men the true enjoyment of their liberties, that is, to exercise such a degree of restraint as is necessary to prevent them from infringing on the rights of others, and that legislatures, therefore, have no claim to impose more than the smallest quantity of restraint which is compatible with the general good.

If this be true, and we do not see how it can be controverted, the question of Slavery comes into a small compass. Is it necessary for the well-being of the world, in which they themselves as men must claim a share, that Negroes should be held in bondage? Is this laying the least degree of restraint upon them which is compatible with the general good? He must be a bold advocate who should answer these questions in the affirmative. Indeed, it is seldom that the defence of Slavery is rested on broad statements of human rights; it is based upon some narrower foundation of custom, or self-interest. It is our purpose at this time to examine some of the pleas which are set forth to prove that the European inhabitants of the West-Indian Islands have a right to heap cruelties and indignities upon the African population of those fertile spots, and to wear them down, in both soul and body, by excessive toil.

“The present race of West-Indian Proprietors found their Slaves on their estates when they came into possession of them, or they have purchased them with their money, or they have been born upon their lands. They are, therefore, their property, their paternal inheritance, or the lawful investment of their wealth.”

This is a plea offered by some who acknowledge that they can find no reason in the nature of things why people of colour should be held in Slavery by white people, no teaching of Providence why it should be the duty of an Englishman to defend his freedom, and stand erect in the conscious dignity of liberty, and of an African to bow beneath the chains of his Slavery, and submit to compulsory labour, urged to its utmost lengths by the terrible lash. They claim the Slaves for West-Indian Proprietors as their property. But whence do they derive their right to them as property? How can property be acquired in the flesh, and bones, and sinews, the breath and soul, of a man? How came Negroes in the West Indies? They, or those from whom they are descended, were violently torn from their homes, crowded in the holds of vessels, chained hand and foot, with scarcely liberty to turn round on their sides, they were transported across the Atlantic, landed, and sold as cattle, and thus became property! Is this a lawful mode of acquiring property? Then why have England and France aroused their energies, and taught the piratical Moors of Barbary that they shall not carry on their detestable piracies, in which human beings are the spoil which they seek, and of which they make their horrid gains? If this be a lawful mode of acquiring property, then force is law; and they who now are Slaves have a right to plunge their masters into all the horrors of Slavery, whenever it is in their power. But the law of force is too terrible and threatening a law to be openly acknowledged even by Slave-holders. It would prove too much for their purposes.

If, then, the first acquisition of property be unjust, how can it be justly inherited, or justly purchased? The original flaw in the title must remain to the latest generations. And, thanks to the faithful pen of the historian,

the first foul acts of oppression, by which the West-Indian Islands became peopled with black Slaves, stands out to the full light of day, and possession need not be confirmed in them through obscurity as to the means of acquirement, even if that could be pleaded against the common rights of humanity.

And, when the right to property is pleaded, is the property of the Slaveholder alone to be considered? The Slaves, too, are men, and have they no right to the free enjoyment of their property? They have, indeed, little riches, the possession of it would be incompatible with their miserable condition. But what will not men venture, what will not men give, in exchange for their liberty? Who that was taken by a North African Corsair would not give all that he possesses in the world for his ransom? And what exertions would not his friends and relatives make, to what privations would they not submit, that they might redeem him from his captivity! Shall the Slaveholder talk, then, of his property in his Slaves, and forget that he is robbing them of what is dearer than the gold which he extorts out of their sweat, and groans, and blood? Shall he demand that property be held sacred, and be the first to violate its sacredness? Nay, if they talk of property, the Negro's claim is to a property which is the birth-right of every creature whom God has made, a property which was before all outward possessions, and which is not to be taken from him under pretence of securing a merely conventional right. It is detestable injustice, in such a way as this, to place human liberty and human happiness on the one hand, and on the other the produce of the earth, and to demand that that produce should be held of higher value than human liberty and human happiness! Much robbery has been committed on the earth, many wretches have revelled in unjust gains, but the robbery of men's natural rights, amid a cry for justice and fair dealing, is the most monstrous that can well be conceived.

"But," it is said, "the property has been acquired under sanction of the law, and therefore ought to be held inviolate." Under the sanction of what law has it been acquired? Under the sanction of the law of nature? If that law be sought in the genuine feelings of humanity, uninfluenced by a sordid love of gain, it proves that no man has a right to tyrannize over his fellow-men, for it would not be good for himself to be oppressed, and therefore cannot be good for another. If the law of nature be sought in savage liberty to do any thing we please to any persons whom we choose, provided we possess sufficient strength or cunning; then property can be held only by the powerful, and a little change of circumstances may make Slaves to-morrow of those who to-day are Masters.

Is it British law under whose sanction the property in Slaves has been acquired, and by which, therefore, it ought to be held inviolate? What has British law to do with the free nations of Africa? How can British law sanction the transportation of Negroes from their native land, and subject them to the dominion of the lash and the split bamboo in the islands of a distant sea? Is the world given up to the tender mercies of a British Legislature, or can it sanction enormities committed against the common rights and liberties of humanity? English law can no more sanction the enslaving of Africans, than African law can sanction the enslaving of Englishmen. And if the law could not sanction the seizing of Africans, and carrying them across seas to slavery, and toil, and stripes, it cannot sanction the continuance of such a state; and, while it does so, it assumes a monstrous power which does not belong to it, and the sooner that it is divested

of which, the more will it be to its honour, and to the true interests of the British nation.

If the state of the law on the subject have encouraged men to vest their property in Negro Slaves, it may be a question whether the Legislature should not grant some compensation to those whom it has misled, in the event of its perceiving its own undue assumption of power, and its resolution to free itself from the odious stigma of oppression. But the plain and simple question between the Slave-holder and the Negro is this : Has the one a natural right to hold the other in compulsory Slavery ? Has he a natural right to subject him to torture, and to exact labour disproportioned to his strength ? Has he a natural right to sell him as cattle, and to separate him at pleasure from his wife, and children, and friends, and all that can throw a little sweetness into his bitter cup ? If there be a right of this kind, which of them holds it ? The black man may as well claim it as the white.

Take it in any point of view, therefore, the pretence of property in West-Indian Slaves, is a pretence without foundation, a plea which is set up on the abominable assumption, that men can of right, by mere brute force, obtain property in their fellow-men. It is only they who have learned to despise in the Negro the child of God, the image of his Maker, who can set forth such a plea ; or they who have permitted disgust at the wretched state of moral and mental degradation in which Negroes are unhappily plunged, to outweigh the evidence which they yield of a common origin with themselves. Or, it is they who are so blinded by the love of wealth, that they will defend any means by which it can be acquired : or who ignorantly and stupidly imagine that whatever is once permitted to be, must remain for ever, notwithstanding its injustice cry out from the ground and reach the heavens ; or they whose sympathies are always with the wealthy and the strong, and who ever turn a deaf ear to the complaints of the poor and him that hath no helper.

Another plea for Slavery is, that " Negroes are an ignorant, stupid, and brutal race of beings, scarcely deserving the name of men, who do not desire their freedom, and are not fit for its enjoyment." Nor does the infant heir to an estate know the value of his possessions, he does not desire them, he is not fit to enjoy them : but he will become so by education : and his present unfitness would be held a poor plea for withholding them from him for ever. Grant that the Negro is not fit for liberty, because he is kept constantly in the very infancy of society, — he will become, as may be proved by example, if he be properly treated. That the Negro does not desire freedom is contradicted by constant advertisements in the West-Indian newspapers of Slaves who have run away from their masters, and for whose apprehension a reward is offered. It is proved also by the numerous suicides which take place as the only means left of escape from their cruel oppressors. And if the Slaves do not desire their freedom, the Slave-holder has nothing to fear from a law proclaiming their emancipation. They will cling to his knees, and point to the plantations, and uncover their backs to the lash and declare, " Me cannot leave massa, he be so very good." And, if the Negro be not fit for freedom, who has made him unfit ? Who has degraded him to the rank of cattle, selling him in market-places, and causing him to labour under the influence of a debasing terror ? The miserable consequences of injustice must not be pleaded as a reason for continuing the injustice. This would not be admitted by Slave drivers themselves on any other subject. And, if we should grant that Negroes are naturally as dull and incapable of acquiring knowledge and wisdom, virtue and piety, as they

are represented to be, what would it prove? That we have a right to oppress them? It would prove, on the contrary, that we should extend towards them our protection, and strive to raise them in the scale of being as far as they are capable. It is not the idiot and the imbecile upon whom the labour of life is thrown. They cannot be reasoned with, and they are suffered to take their own way. Stripes might compel them to labour, but as the cat and the bamboo are not here recognized among legitimate persuasives, whatever injuries those outcasts of nature may receive from the thoughtless and the cruel, in the wantonness of their humour, they are protected, and if it be necessary, they are supported at the public expense. The plea of ignorance, stupidity, and brutality, will not avail, then, as a reason for holding the African in captivity, even if it were true that he is hopelessly so, which experience, in numerous instances, disproves. But the maligners of African capability have doubtless blotted St. Domingo from their charts of the West-Indian Islands, or they have some theory to prove a special inspiration. They cannot allow that liberty alone has made men of miserable and brutal slaves.

"Slavery has existed in all ages." So have robbery and murder, but time has not sanctioned them; and for many reasons, which even Slaveholders can understand, they never will be esteemed laudable, except the wholesale butchery and spoliation of war. To plead the length of time that Slavery has existed, unless it could be proved that it is good in itself, is only urging an argument for taking the more zealous measures for its abolition. A disease that has long existed, has worked itself the more deeply into the system, and requires a more radical cure. Let us lose no time, then, and let us spare no pains, lest the worst evils come upon us through neglect.

"But robbery and murder have existed contrary to law, Slavery by the connivance and protection of law." That is only saying, legislators in all ages have been deficient in a proper sense of justice, for wrong is not made right because it is sanctioned by law, else, why are not all laws like the laws of the Medes and Persians for ever unalterable? If up to this time men in power have not had sufficient honesty to conduct themselves conscientiously towards the weak and defenceless, it is time for those who are not men in power to teach them their duty, and loudly and fearlessly to demand its performance. They are not to continue to go wrong because they have once set out in a path of iniquity.

"Negro Slaves in the West Indies are better fed, better clothed, better lodged, and altogether better off than the labouring population of Great Britain." If this were true, it would prove nothing that it is intended to prove. There may be degrees of oppression and misery, but the least degree is still oppression and misery, and is a shameful wrong, though it is less than some other wrong. The question is not a question of degrees, but of justice or injustice, of right or no right. To thrust out one eye of a man is not so bad as to thrust out both; but that is no reason why one should be thrust out. This pretended argument from a comparison of evils is mere trickery to hide the real question, viz. whether one man has a right to hold another in Slavery. Perhaps the friends of emancipation have in some measure aided this trickery by their moving appeals, founded on good evidence of the miserable condition of the Slaves: but there are some people who cannot comprehend that there may be foul oppression where there are no stripes, or imprisonment, or compelling of excessive labour, or forced prostitution of body and soul, and it is well, therefore, to shew them that oppression, in their view of it, is found in all its horrors in the West Indies; for who, in

such a cause, would not stir every sympathy of the human heart, would not seek auxiliaries by every honourable means? While using this legitimate argument, however, we will not permit the discussion of the question to rest here; for though it were possible to beat us entirely from this position, the question of right would still remain untouched; we should but lose some supporters of our cause, who fly with alarm from what they denominate "pure politics."

But the comparison between the Negro Slave and the British Labourer is not fairly made. Miserably poor as are vast numbers of the working classes in this kingdom, owing to the restrictions which are placed on trade and commerce, their situation is still incomparably better than that of the captive African. Whatever sufferings they endure, they cannot be driven to labour by the lash, they cannot for the slightest offence of their own, or by the caprice and ill-humour of their master, be stripped bare, tied to a ladder, or held down by their fellow-men, and have savage stripes inflicted on them until their whole backs present one mass of lacerated flesh. They cannot suffer these things without trial, without appeal from its infliction, and then be thrust into the stocks, in a close, and filthy, and miserable dungeon. Yet, with just sufficient food to keep life and strength in him, with just sufficient clothing for the purposes of West-Indian decency, the Slave is frequently obliged to endure all this, and too often are these sufferings multiplied to a horrible degree. They who represent the situation of the West-Indian Slave as superior to that of the British labourer, must have large faith in the credulity of the British public. Not even the Irish cottar, miserable, degraded, half-clothed, and half-starved, as he is, is in so deplorable a condition. He has much of which to complain, but, when the Negro speaks, his tongue must be dumb within his mouth.

"The opponents of Negro Slavery have grossly exaggerated facts, and in many instances have stated absolute falsehoods." This plea, like the foregoing, proves nothing that it is intended to prove, even if it be true. If every advocate of emancipation were a liar, as long as the fact of the existence of Slavery is true, it must be tried by its intrinsic merits, and we must come to the old question, Has one man a right to hold another man in Slavery? though he should clothe him in purple, and cause him to fare sumptuously every day. No cause can be identified with its advocates. It must stand on its own truth or falsehood. If its advocates be bad men, it is a reason for caution, but for no more. A diamond is a diamond still, though its form and water be lauded by the veriest thief on this side the gallows.

It is not, however, pretended that all which the emancipists say is exaggeration and falsehood. There comes again, then, the old argument of degrees, or the old dust wiped off is again attempted to be thrown in our eyes. The question is not, How much oppression may the Slave-holder exercise? But may he be a Slave-holder? If he may not, as has been already proved, then diminish the statements respecting Negro oppression by all the exaggeration and falsehood that emancipists are said to have uttered, and there remains a balance of foul and fearful wrong, enough to overwhelm with confusion any but the inflictors and advocates of Slavery.

But let the statements of the emancipists be examined; let them be tried by the most rigorous inquiry, and few are the falsehoods and misstatements which will be found in them.

"What can be done? As private individuals we have no power." We can make ourselves masters of the subject. We can diffuse information among our neighbours. We can do our part towards calling forth the united

feeling and voice of the British public on the subject, towards creating such an interest in Negro Slaves as shall cause the tables of the Houses of Lords and Commons to be loaded with petitions for the speedy abolition of Slavery in our colonies. Let not our thoughts be unemployed, nor our tongues be silent. Let us, as Christians, be neighbours to these men, for they have fallen among thieves.

H. V.

DEMONOLOGY AND WITCHCRAFT.*

CAN any body tell where Sir W. Scott has been since he last met the public? Will Mr. Lockhart avouch that he has not found his way after Dante to Tartarus? Will Mr. Murray declare that he has not been up to the moon to gather matter for the Family Library? It may be that he has only had a legacy of some of Faust's folios; but something has happened to open his eyes upon the living population of a world which we had wrongly imagined to have tumbled back into chaos long ago. Considering the marvels he has to relate, we can but admire his condescension in choosing so humble a vehicle as No. XVI. of the Family Library. Here we have tidings of the fallen angels who loved this world too well; of Satan himself, and his dealings with Job, and of the bodily jeopardy of Peter when the Evil One desired to have him that he might sift him like wheat. Yet more; Sir Walter has found up Ithuriel's spear somewhere, and brought it back with him; and lo! the Heathen gods of all ages and nations before the Christian era start up into their true shape. We have been wrong all this time in supposing them mere wood and stone, squatting and grinning in India, speaking oracles in Greece, and working wonders in Egypt, according to the will of workman and priest; it appears that they were the habitations of fallen angels, or at least that we may believe them to have been so. Milton had found this out before, but he only touched upon the matter in an ode. Sir Walter thinks that it is time so important a fact should be made known to the multitude in plain prose. Next we light upon a valuable hint to the faculty. The "peculiar and dreadful disorder" of Demoniackal possession has never, it appears, been properly understood. Surely it is time it should; and if our physicians should urge that the lapse of time has deprived them of the means of ascertaining the true nature of the malady, let them be told that if Sir Walter Scott can teach us about the fallen angels who lived here 5000 years ago, they ought to be ashamed if they cannot make a theory about a disease which was common only twenty centuries since. We must do our author the justice to offer his data in his own words. Having described how the evil spirits, who inspired the oracles and appropriated the Heathen temples, were driven from their earthly abodes by the appearance of Christ, he proceeds,

* The Family Library. No. XVI. Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Murray. 1830.

"It must be noticed, however, that this great event had not the same effect on that peculiar class of fiends who were permitted to vex mortals by the alienation of their minds, and the abuse of their persons, in the cases of what is called *Demoniacal possession*. In what exact sense we should understand the word *possession*, it is impossible to discover; but we feel it impossible to doubt, (notwithstanding learned authorities to the contrary,) that it was a dreadful disorder of a kind not merely natural; and may be pretty well assured that it was suffered to continue after the incarnation, because the miracles effected by our Saviour and his apostles, in curing those tormented in this way, afforded the most direct proofs of his divine mission, even out of the very mouths of those ejected fiends, the most malignant enemies of a power to which they dared not refuse homage and obedience."—P. 70.

The final cause of the temptation in the wilderness, as well as its true nature, is at length ascertained.

"It must also be admitted that in another most remarkable respect, the power of the enemy of mankind was rather enlarged than bridled or restrained, in consequence of the Saviour coming upon earth. It is indisputable, that in order that Jesus might have his share in every species of delusion and persecution which the fallen race of Adam is heir to, he personally suffered the temptation in the wilderness at the hand of Satan, whom, without resorting to his divine power, he drove, confuted, silenced, and shamed, from his presence. But it appears, that although Satan was allowed, upon this memorable occasion, to come on earth with great power, *the permission was given expressly because his time was short. The indulgence which was then granted to him in a case so unique and peculiar* soon passed over, and was utterly restrained. It is evident that after the lapse of the period, during which it pleased the Almighty to establish his own church by miraculous displays of power, it could not consist with his kindness and wisdom to leave the enemy in the possession of the privilege of deluding men by imaginary miracles, calculated for the perversion of that faith, which real miracles were no longer present to support," &c., &c.—P. 71.

Our author is led to these speculations by the desire to ascertain whether the sin of witchcraft, as understood in modern times, is denounced as punishable in Scripture. His conclusion is that the sin denounced in the Mosaic law, and practised clandestinely by the personage at Endor, is something quite different from the imputed crime which till a very late period in the history of civilized countries has occasioned such gross perversions of justice, and so appalling a waste of life. It is a pity that such an inquiry should be entered upon with a grossly superstitious assumption, and should be pursued in a spirit of credulity which we should have supposed the influence of such enlightened society and intellectual exercise as our author has been accustomed to, must have exorcised long ago. The most surprising thing, however, is, that he has actually laid hold of the true philosophy of Demonology, and lets it go again without being apparently aware of its value. His first chapter, if expanded as it might have been, would have stood himself and the public in good stead of all that follows, and would have furnished a perfect explanation of every well-attested ghost-story extant. We have no hesitation in saying that the philosophy of apparitions has come out luminous and indisputable from the facts which have, within a few years, been brought together by philosophical inquirers, some of whom were themselves subject to spectral illusions. If our author had gathered the fruits of their labours, suppressing his own reveries on the Bible, he might have presented the public with a volume of deep and general interest, instead of a desultory collection of amusing tales. Elegant

as are his sketches of the prevailing superstitions of various countries, and entertaining as are most of his narratives, we feel when we come to the end that the thing is spoiled, and that the first chapter is the only part we shall desire to glance at a second time. It should have been otherwise in a case where the favourable attention of every mind is secured by the very mention of the subject: for where is there one of a more universal interest?

Who has not longed to behold a departed spirit? Emotions of awe, of dread, may be connected with every conception of spiritual communion; but the grief of the mourner, (and who has not mourned?) the curiosity of the speculator, (and who has not speculated?) the yearnings, the questionings of the unsatisfied, spirit all unite in sending an appeal into the invisible world. The bereaved parent, whose sleep is startled by tones, hushed in the grave, but coming back upon the ear with living power, wakes to a deeper grief than the sunshine can witness; and while watching the stars out, looks, almost with expectation, for some shadow crossing the grey dawn, or listens for some whisper borne on the morning breeze, some manifestation of a presence which he cannot but believe to exist. The philosopher, who flings aside his book as his lamp expires, and betakes himself to his own speculations for satisfaction which he cannot find elsewhere, is prepared by every inquisition into the secrets of the grave for the perception of an immaterial presence, and longs for nerve to ask where he may have an answer. Every stirring intellect, every spirit which is haunted by remembrances and imaginings, is anxious to invest them with a form, to realize them in a sound, and by embodying to perpetuate them. Such an inclination may be called universal, because where there is mind, there is curiosity, more or less, about things pertaining to the world of mind,—things absent, unseen, or future. The inclination may be overpowered by associations of terror, but it is sooner or later experienced by minds of every class.

It is an unquestionable fact that a belief in the immortality of the soul is prevalent in every nation on the face of the earth. It matters little whether the belief arose from a primary revelation spread by tradition, or from the efforts of reason in a few reflective minds, or from the natural process of association in all. The belief exists; and with it is connected an idea of the relation of the future life to the present; of the perpetuity of the interests which occupy us here. The union of these notions with the natural curiosity about things unseen occasions the conception of spiritual communion. Nothing seems more natural than that those disembodied spirits who love should communicate with the survivors who mourn; that the murdered should use their power to appal the murderer; that the wise should return to instruct the ignorant. That such a notion is unsanctioned by true philosophy is, however, clear from the diversity of views which has ever prevailed respecting the appearance of departed spirits.

An immaterial existence cannot be susceptible of the changes which attend the mortal state. It cannot be modified by the influences which give its hues, and shades, and forms, to human life. Varieties of age and country cannot extend to spiritual beings; yet the records of their visits to earth present a perfect accordance with the characteristics of the age, the peculiarities of the country, and the superstitions of the individual visited. No glorified saint ever appeared to a North American Indian; nor a Scandinavian warrior to a Trappist or an Italian nun. Nor have ghosts been even divested of external character, or stripped of the non-essentials which they must have left in the grave. They have ever appeared, not only in the

costume of their country, and speaking the language of their time, (which might be supposed necessary to their communication with mortals,) but unredeemed from the ignorance and prejudices common to them and their beholders. Their very choice of the sense through which they manifest themselves is in accordance with the predispositions of those with whom they communicate. The savage who is wont to anticipate the storm by the muttering of the heavens and the roar of the forest, who tracks his prey by the crackling of the branches, and detects an ambush by the sound of low breathings lost to unpractised ears, recognizes a spirit in the sighings of the breeze or the tumult of the tempest. The mountaineer, who makes the highest neighbouring peak his barometer, sees in the rolling mists the drapery, in the scudding cloud the chariot of some visitor, who descended on a sunbeam and will fade into invisibility with the rainbow. The ghosts of Greeks were crowned with bays and laurels, of Druids with oak, of savages with feathers, of saints with a glory. The spear, the bow, or the cross, were presented, according as the seers were warriors, hunters, or monks. The warnings given were sometimes of an ambush of cannibals, sometimes of the wrath of gods, sometimes of a secret murder. Amidst all this variety of manifestation, no common principle is apparent—no one attribute of immateriality—no credentials to sanction the mission or dignify the agent. Every thing connected with the appearance was earthly, though the attributes might be strangely conjoined. The form might or might not be gigantic; the substance might or might not be translucent; the voice might be low or powerful, the tread noiseless or heavy. Still familiar attributes were all. There was no evidence of spirituality, which was undoubtedly possible, if the manifestation itself was spiritual. The dreamers, like Nebuchadnezzar, saw an image compounded of a variety of substances never thus conjoined by nature, but all material, all furnished to the imagination by experience.

Though these manifestations were connected by no common quality which attested their supernatural origin, their universality must be accounted for on some one principle. A belief which has subsisted in all ages and nations must have a common foundation. Such a principle we have already suggested in the fact that every mind, from the grandest which has awed the world down to the meanest which is at home only among objects of sense, has a reach beyond the present. The eager urchins, who toss half-pence on a tombstone, are as much the watchers of an unseen power as the astrologer at midnight in his high tower. The same emotion kindles them and absorbs him—the same longing to recognize somewhat beyond that which the eye beholds. What they call luck he calls fate; but all are equally intent on something real, though invisible, inaudible, intangible. By this pervading desire the gypsy thrives, and the wise woman looks through the twilight for approaching visitors. Through this desire do friends clasp hands when they agree that he who first departs shall visit him who survives. Nor is it prevalent in one county or continent more than another. The very modes in which it is gratified bear a strong resemblance all over the world. Games of chance are played with shells and pebbles where there is no coin; and wise women have tents in the deserts of Asia: and if gypsies have not yet traversed the globe, their trade is followed wherever the foot of man is planted.

Another cause of the general persuasion into whose origin we are inquiring, is—actual experience of apparitions; not of ghosts or departed spirits, but of apparitions. This fact being fully ascertained furnishes a humbling

proof of how all the world may, through its own fault, be wrong in a point in which all the world has an interest in being right. Truly, in this case, the philosopher has had very little the advantage of the clown; and the scornful laugh of the one has been nearly as irrational as the tremors of the other. There has been much folly as well as cruelty in the triumphs of the wise over the ignorant; for argument is of no avail against experience, and no ridicule can remove conviction.

Reasoning from the mere belief of the relation of this life to another, prior to all investigations into the nature and properties of spirit and matter, there appears a strong probability that the souls of the departed may have the power of re-appearing on the earth. Researches into the philosophy of the soul destroy this probability. Do ghosts appear as matter or spirit? Not as matter, for agents are at work, from the moment of death, to effect irremediable changes in the corporeal form. Look into the grave and see what chemical affinities have done with form and feature, and the substance which composed them. Bone without muscle, or a shapeless mass destitute of either, is all that can be found. A material ghost can only appear by means of a miracle—by an express re-creation of the human form, which would thus be no longer called a ghost, but a man raised from the dead. Such a possibility is not urged by ghost-seers, who rather testify to having seen, heard, or felt, a spirit. But in thus testifying, they shew that they know neither what spirit is nor what it is not. Our only notions of spirit are negative. We conceive that it is what matter is not: that it has no extension, and therefore cannot be seen; no hardness, and therefore cannot be heard; no solidity, and therefore cannot be smelt, tasted, or felt. There is no reason for believing that spirit cannot act upon matter; but we may safely declare that it cannot, as spirit, act through any of the five senses: and the reason why so many believe that it may, is, that they misconceive the nature of spirit, supposing it to be etherealized matter. The philosopher is safe in his conclusion that as the material frame cannot be renovated, and as the spiritual one is not recognizable by the senses, the dead do not appear to the living; but what avails his reasoning, however sound, against the stubborn experience of an objector who declares that he has seen forms invisible to others, so distinctly as to be unable to choose between the apparition and the reality? The philosopher, when he has exhausted his arguments, internally pronounces his opponent a fool or a madman: while the bystanders, who know him to be neither the one nor the other, admit his testimony, and the matter rests where it did before.

If this natural philosopher should meet with a moral philosopher, the argument may be renewed on another ground. The one declares that no human testimony shall make him believe that which science shews to be impossible. The other argues that there are impossibilities in the mental as well as the physical world; and that he cannot admit such a moral miracle as the falsehood of such a concurrence of testimony as has been always held sufficient to settle any other doubtful question. Both are unaware of any middle course by which the difficulties of both creeds may be avoided; and, again, the matter rests where it did before.

It is true, no evidence can be less satisfactory than much, once received as conclusive, respecting supernatural appearances. The faults of this testimony may be easily pointed out without impeaching its honesty. The witnesses were usually wrought on by deceptive arts, or by a misinterpretation of natural appearances. The few individuals who, by skill or accident, had anticipated scientific facts now generally known, turned their knowledge

to profitable account by imposing on the imaginations of the ignorant many. Optical and acoustic illusions, assisted by well-chosen appeals to the inferior senses, seduced a multitude from their sobriety of judgment, and made them false witnesses in their own despite. A man suddenly visited by an image of the evil one, complete in the horrors of horns, feet and tail, might close his eyes, and (knowing nothing of magic lanterns) endeavour to persuade himself for a moment that his sight had deceived him; but if a sulphureous odour and the roar of flames were at the same time perceptible, how should he resist the conviction that he was in presence of his Satanic majesty? The impression must be yet more forcible if the appearance be expected, and the mind wrought up by fear and intent observation. Benvenuto Cellini records, with all good faith, his experience of a trial of Necromancy, by which an absent person was to be compelled to appear, and from whom intelligence was actually obtained. Devils appeared in legions; and amidst such shadows, flames and smoke, that it is pretty clear the illusion was produced by figures from a magic lantern displayed on the vapours arising from burning perfumes. The vindicators of the doctrine of supernatural appearances, if such there be, may well afford to relinquish testimony of this nature, though the witnesses must decamp by thousands.

A deception quite as common, and wholly innocent, has, in numberless instances, arisen from a misinterpretation of natural appearances. The shepherd, leading his sheep to the downs on a sultry morning, sends a glance over the ocean, and sees no sail, but is startled by the image of an inverted ship in the clouds. He believes it a spectre. The forest-ranger sees gleams of light for whose origin he cannot account, playing on the stems and foliage of distant trees. They proceed from some hidden, glistening pool; but to his alarmed imagination, they present a bodily shape, and he reports of a troop of spiritual hunters, coursing with the rapidity of lightning. The simple Vaudois, returning home as the twilight draws on, meditating on the wrongs of some martyred ancestor, casts his eyes upwards to some crag where a pine, laden with snow, nods to the blast. The mountaineer enters his cottage, awed, yet elated in soul, with a tale of the appearance of a spirit, waving a white banner on the steep. The story of the Giant of the Brocken is known to all: that he manifested himself only among the mists on the mountain top; that his majestic form was seen by a multitude of successive visitors; that gesture and sound were attributed to him, with a variety of superhuman powers; that he maintained his influence over the popular mind for a length of years, till it was discovered that he imitated his beholders in actions so peculiar that an inquiry into his nature was courageously and successfully instituted, when it appeared that this grandest of ghosts was no more than a highly-magnified reflection of the human figure in a mist. The far-famed spectre of the Hartz became as powerless to terrify as the flitting image of the human face in a glass. The ghost-seers, who live among mists and storms, or in the depths of forests, are suspicious witnesses; and their testimony can well be spared.

The power of association is a principal agent in the cases of which we have last spoken, and from it, another large class is formed. If the operations of this faculty had not been closely investigated by diligent inquirers, we should not yet have obtained any adequate conception of the nature of its influence; or have been emancipated from the superstitions which it has originated. We speak at present of only one common effect of its influence—that by which the perception of a part of any thing suggests the idea of the whole. Children love to twirl lighted sticks, and gratify their eyes

with a circle of fire. There is, in reality, no more a circle of fire than if the spark was stationary; but the most practised eye cannot detect the precise point at which the light arrives at each successive moment. Sing the first bar of God save the King, and what individual in the United Kingdom can help carrying it on? Shew to the infant of a few months the head only of any animal in the picture of a farmyard, and he will neigh, bray, bleat, or grunt, accordingly. The sculptor who gazes on any fragment of the Elgin marbles has the entire figure before his mind's eye. How many entire ghosts have thus presented themselves from the mere fragments of resemblance to the human form! How many gleams of moonlight, how many nodding twigs, how many scudding clouds have inspired needless terror!

The ear, though not so much exposed to imperfect impressions as the eye, is frequently the instrument of deception. Every one knows the story of the creaking sign-board, whose sound was mistaken for the voice of the murdered barber. The ventriloquist succeeds by a deception of a similar kind. Loftier emotions are excited by sounds more remote and mysterious. The rumblings of a volcano, the mutterings which precede an earthquake, the moaning, the sighing, the swelling and dying murmurs of the imprisoned winds beneath the surface of the frozen lakes of America, have naturally caused the impression that departed spirits were groaning in torment, or mourning the approaching woes of their race, or wafting their wild music to the listening souls of survivors. If Dr. Johnson, in one of his paroxysms of superstition, had been placed on the margin of one of these lakes, by moonlight and in solitude, what a stupendous effort would have been needful to support his dignity amidst the suspense of expectation! One day at Oxford, he tells us, as he was turning the key of his chamber, he heard his mother (who was then at Litchfield) distinctly calling "*Sam.*" He, of course, expected woful tidings of her; but—"nothing ensued." Dr. Johnson was a powerful auxiliary to the party of ghost-expectants, (we do not hear of any experience of apparitions,) but his impressions carry no authority with them in this case; for the plain reasons that, as his senses were obtuse, he was peculiarly liable to deception; and that, from early and prolonged influences, he was remarkably prone to superstition. While we reject his arguments, we will pay him the compliment of dismissing him in company with one whose opinions he valued exceedingly—Sir Thomas Brown. The latter-mentioned philosopher has said more in defence of supernatural appearances than, perhaps, Johnson himself; but from a totally opposite bias. He was as sceptical as Johnson was superstitious; and being ever inclined to indulge his fine imagination with all pure and elegant images, he was willing to admit even a "vulgar error," provided it could introduce ideas that were not vulgar. No doubt his fancy revelled in Spenser's speculation on tutelary angels.

"How oft do they their silver bowers leave
To come and succour us that succour want!
How oft do they with golden pinions cleave
The flitting skies, like flying pursuivant,
Against foul fiends to aid us militant!
They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,
And their bright squadrons round about us plant,
And all for love, and nothing for reward:
O why should heavenly God to man have such regard?"

This, to Sir Thomas Brown, would supersede all argument on a subject of speculation, and induce him to express himself as follows:

“ Therefore, for spirits, I am so far from denying their existence, that I could easily believe that not only whole countries but particular persons have their tutelary and guardian angels. It is not a new opinion of the Church of Rome, but an old one of Pythagoras and Plato. There is no heresy in it, and if not manifestly defined in Scripture, yet it is an opinion of a good and wholesome use in the course of actions of a man's life, and would serve as an hypothesis to solve many doubts, whereof common philosophy affordeth no solution.”

We might have ranked Sir W. Scott with the author of the *Religio Medici* if he had lived two centuries earlier, and if, moreover, he had not shewn, in his attempts to philosophize on Demonology, that he had the means of being wiser than he has chosen to be.

However clear it may be to the philosopher that departed spirits cannot return in a visible form, however numerous may be the cases of deception, a weighty body of testimony to the reality of apparitions has always subsisted,—testimony so various, so distinct, so extensive, as would in no less difficult case have been questioned. If many credulous persons have seen spectres, so have some sceptics; if many weak minds have been troubled by shadows, so have not a few strong ones; if madmen have been admitted in crowds to explore the secrets of the grave, many sane have been startled by glimpses into the unseen world. Though individual testimony is all that can be obtained, (since there is no satisfactory evidence that the same apparition has been seen by two or more persons at one time,) no suspicions of artifice, no supposition of insanity, will explain one-half of the well-attested cases of spectral appearance. The imagination may have exaggerated, the judgment may have misinterpreted; but it is unquestionable that distinct shapes of departed friends have been presented to the bodily eye, and well-remembered tones addressed to the ear, while the seer was awake in the broad sunshine, and, at the moment, thinking of nothing less than the person to whom the shape and voice belonged. At length, the question has been met as it deserves. A few strong minds, themselves subject to spectral impressions, have had the courage to investigate and publish their own cases, and have thus thrown light on the most mysterious class of facts on record. When the results of such inquiries become generally known, it will be matter of as much surprise as grief, that some of the most afflicting evils of humanity should have had such an origin: that madness, from being pre-supposed, should have become real, and that life and its enjoyments should have been forfeited for want of knowing a physical fact which there now appears no difficulty in ascertaining.

The common method adopted by the subjects of spectral illusions has been to make ready to die. Happily a different course was practised by Nicolai, the philosophical seer of Berlin. The first appearance which he beheld was that of a deceased person. It is well for society that he did not immediately resign himself to death, and leave the world through a mistake. If he had forthwith settled his accounts, ordered his coffin, and lain down on a sofa to watch his breathing and feel his pulse, his experience might have served to adorn a tale, but would not have enriched the records of science. He might have been interesting as a sentimentalist, but not, as now, as a philosophical hero. His widow might have marvelled and wept till she was prepared to see and follow his “beck'ning ghost;” but she probably found it a much better thing to assist in recollecting and recording the facts for the benefit of society, and to be a wife instead of a widow. So few cases described with similar accuracy are on record that we are compelled, at the risk of fatiguing

our readers with a repetition of a well-known tale, to relate the principal facts. This shall be done, however, as briefly as possible, those points only being touched upon which are essential to the confirmation of the doctrine we are about to propose.

In February, 1791, Nicolai, the well-known author and bookseller of Berlin, saw, for the first time, an apparition. He had been subjected to a series of agitations which had affected his health to an extent of which he and his family were unaware till some time afterwards. His wife was with him one morning, when he beheld, at the distance of about ten paces, the figure of a person some time deceased. On his calling his wife's attention to it, she was, of course, much alarmed, and sent immediately for a physician, who ascribed the delusion to strong mental emotion, and hoped there would be no return. At four in the afternoon, however, the same form re-appeared, while the patient was alone. He went to his wife's apartment, the phantom preceding him, occasionally disappearing, but, while visible, always retaining the same standing posture. About two hours after, several walking figures appeared which had no connexion with the first. After this time, spectres thronged in crowds round the patient, who, if he had lived two centuries earlier, would infallibly have been burnt for sorcery, admitting probably the justice of his sentence. These phantoms represented both strangers and acquaintance, both living and dead persons: many more strangers than acquaintance; many more living than dead. The persons with whom he daily conversed were never thus idealized. The apparitions intruded themselves at all times, but not equally in all places. By night and by day, in solitude and in society, the patient was subject to their visits; but they were more numerous in his own house than in any other, and rarely appeared in the street. Sometimes, but not always, they vanished when the eyes were closed. Horses, dogs, and birds at length joined company with the human phantoms, and the latter also began to speak, sometimes to each other, but more commonly to their reluctant host. Consolatory words from dear friends at a distance often mingled with the discourse of persons actually present; and these words harmonized with the melancholy thoughts which were still predominant in the mind of the patient. These delusions soon became so familiar that they did not occasion the slightest uneasiness. It had been Nicolai's practice to lose blood two or three times annually; but the precaution had been omitted for some months previous to the appearance of the spectres. In April, when they had haunted him for more than two months, bleeding was resorted to, as it surely ought to have been some time before. During the operation, at eleven in the forenoon, the chamber was crowded with human phantoms, which remained till after four o'clock. They then began to move more slowly, and to fade in hue, till, by seven o'clock, they were entirely white. They moved very little, though their forms were perfectly distinct. They grew more obscure, but not fewer in number, as was usually the case. Nor did they, as usual, withdraw or vanish, but seemed to dissolve in the air, while fragments continued visible for a considerable time. About eight, they had wholly and finally disappeared. The sensation of their approach was occasionally felt afterwards by the patient, though they were never again visible. This sensation surprised him while looking over his notes of the case, preparatory to drawing up the account which he subsequently published.

In this case it is observable that visible impressions were presented in a greater profusion, at an earlier and for a longer period than audible, and

that ideas of touch were not excited at all. Such is usually the fact, though in some few instances voices alone are the object of terror. In no one case does it appear that the sense of touch is alone affected. This fact goes far to prove that apparitions are the result of natural though unusual workings in our own frame. Our visible ideas are by far the most numerous, and the least connected with those belonging to the other senses. Sounds, on the contrary, rarely reach us unaccompanied by some visible object, and tangible bodies are, with few exceptions, presented to the sight at the same time with the touch. It appears, therefore, that the largest class of our ideas furnishes the greatest number of phantoms; and the smallest class the smallest number. No instances are on record, we believe, of supernatural manifestations through the two inferior senses. We suppose that the blind and the deaf must have been subject to spectral illusions, in common with others: and it is much to be wished that their experience were known. It may, perhaps, be pretty confidently predicted. The blind from birth would find that ghosts are much less etherealized than they are represented by ghost-seers in general. The spirit would not beckon or shake the head, as usual; but accommodating its action to the infirmity of the witness, would lead by the hand. It would also not wait to be first addressed, according to the most orthodox superstition; but would make known its presence by a call. With the deaf, on the contrary, spirits would communicate by signs, possibly by so vulgar a medium as the finger alphabet. We hope that such experience will ere long be supplied. If it should prove, however, that it is not to be obtained from the large class of which we speak, and that they are not subject to the intrusion of ghosts, we may be furnished with the means of judging how far a predisposition for the marvellous influences the common cases of illusion. The totally blind and deaf are usually remarkably exempt from fear; and though it is not to be supposed that they are free from deceptions of the senses, it would be interesting to ascertain how small is the relative proportion of ghost-seers among their body. The dreams of those who have recently lost a sense are known to represent the ideas belonging to that sense with peculiar vividness. The blind dream of gay parterres, gleaming lakes, rolling and shifting clouds, or the spirit-moving glances of the human eye; while the deaf are entranced by the breathings of an *Æolian* harp, or soothed by the lapse of waters, or agitated by the mutterings of a storm. Probably a ghost would appear to the one class in lightning, to the other in thunder; to the one its form would be bright, to the other its tones melodious. The visible impressions in the one instance, and the audible in the other, would be vivified more remarkably than in common cases. There is exquisite truth in Milton's vision of his deceased wife, who

"Came vested all in white, pure as her mind:
Her face was veiled, yet to my fancied sight
Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shined
So clear, as in no face with more delight.
But O, as to embrace me she inclined,
I waked, she fled, and day brought back my night."

No incident could display more address, a more intimate acquaintance with the mysteries of sensibility than the description of the scenery from Dover cliff, in *Lear*. Edgar's object was so to excite Gloucester's imagination as to make him the subject of a bold deception; and the mode he adopted to intoxicate his mind, was the best he could have chosen. Visual ideas were exalted to their utmost intensity by suggestions of the ocean, the ships

and boats, the birds and the solitary human figure scarce distinguishable. Audible perceptions are also appealed to (but less forcibly) by the concluding image of the "murmuring surge;" and amidst this tumult of agitating conceptions, it might well happen that the sense of touch might be grossly deceived. The same method is used to obviate suspicion after the pretended fall. A terrific image was immediately presented of a fiend with eyes like two full moons, and other attributes equally exaggerated. This fictitious scene is as true to nature as Milton's actual dream.

The greater number of our ideas is compounded from, and all are originated by, sensations. Impressions are actually produced upon the nerves by the reaction of the ideas which were communicated through those nerves. Of these impressions we are conscious in so many cases, that it is a fair presumption that they exist in all; and that the most abstract meditations exert some degree of nervous influence as well as the simplest ideas of sensation, though in the first case it may be too faint to be easily recognizable. A close examination might perhaps convince us that a visible, audible, or tangible image is concerned, and may be recognized, in the most abstract idea which we are capable of forming. The mathematician makes almost as much use of visible images as the painter; and the metaphysician is not only compelled to use pictorial language, but to conceive, as well as illustrate, by means of sensible media. He feels and deplors the difficulties which thus stand in the way of abstract inquiries; but he can do little to remedy them beyond introducing the greatest possible variety of illustrations, derived from the ideas of all the senses in turn. It is better to do this than to flatter himself with the hope of a philosophical vocabulary of abstract terms, with which it seems as improbable that we should be furnished as that the totally blind and deaf should be gifted with visible and audible ideas by some compassionate ghost.

The simple ideas which are deposited by sensation or the compound ideas which are formed by association from the simple ones, are awakened, recalled, or revived, by the action of certain laws of suggestion. The degree of intensity in which they present themselves depends on a multitude of varying circumstances, connected with the state of the body and mind. The idea of a running stream must have been a very different thing to Mungo Park when crossing the bridge at Peebles on a rainy November day, and when parched with thirst in the deserts of Africa: and even the very complex idea of truth must exert a widely different influence over a man when diverting himself with repartee and when absorbed in lofty contemplation over his Bible. The commonest influences of daily life modify the force of our impressions very considerably; and it may therefore be anticipated that the peculiar operation of bodily disease and mental excitement may occasion a yet greater diversity. If impressions awakened by precisely the same means are more powerful in the morning than at night, more agreeable after dinner than before, more distinct in solitude than in company, more correct in the light than in darkness, more animating in the sunshine than in the shade, it is perfectly conceivable that they would be deepened or changed in an indefinitely greater degree by the extraordinary excitements of disease.

Disease of every kind and degree affects the brain, as the nerves which overspread the whole body transmit their various impressions to the substance in which they originate. If those parts of the brain only are affected which are not peculiarly connected with the visual or acoustic nerves, pain is produced, but no hallucination. If the whole brain be disturbed, delirium

is the consequence. If the portion connected with the optic nerve be the most exposed to disturbance, visions are seen ; if the acoustic nerve be involved in the affection, unreal voices are heard. By the agitation of these nerves, former impressions are revived ; and with different degrees of vividness in proportion to the force of the agitation. While new impressions are at the same time made by external objects, the revived impressions are usually so faint in comparison as to occasion no danger of delusion. When such external impressions are wanting, however, the revived ideas become so powerful as to appear like sensations. Hence the silence and darkness of night are the most favourable to spectral illusions. When the agitation becomes sufficiently strong to overpower the impressions of present objects, apparitions are seen, or unreal sounds and sensations are heard or felt. This deception may be experienced while the intellectual faculties remain entire, as in the case of Nicolai ; or may involve an affection of those portions of the brain which are instrumental in the processes of comparison and judgment ; in which case, delirium or absolute madness is occasioned. Apparitions, then, are seen when ideas are so vivified as to overpower actual impressions ; and this takes place when a strong morbid affection extends from the brain to the optic nerve : and analogous consequences ensue from agitations of the acoustic and tactual nerves.

It seldom or never happens that the entire expansion of the optic nerve, —the whole retina, is thus affected. The apparition appears surrounded with familiar objects, though it intercepts some which ought to be perceived. In order to dispel the illusion, it must be ascertained what point of the retina is thus affected, that some powerful actual sensation may be excited : that is, some bright or moving object should be placed on the very spot where the apparition stands. Dr Hibbert gives us the case of a man who was haunted by a frightful skeleton. The medical practitioner who attended him “ inquired whether if at that moment his patient saw the spectre. The man immediately pointed to a corner of the room where he alleged his familiar was keeping guard. To this spot, therefore, the gentlemen walked. ‘ Now do you see the skeleton ? ’ he asked. ‘ How can I ? ’ was the reply, ‘ when you are interposed between us ? ’ Here, then, was a satisfactory indication that the retina had been actually impressed by the imaginary phantom. Soon, however, fancy began her work again ; for, with a sudden tone of exclamation which startled the philosopher himself, the man cried, ‘ Ay, now I see the skeleton again, for at this very moment he is peeping at me from behind your shoulders. ’ ”

Impressions are sometimes revived in the order in which they were presented, and sometimes in a new arrangement : on which circumstance it depends whether the objects seen are familiar or strange, whether memory or imagination is made the treacherous agent of disease. Nicolai sometimes beheld the forms of friends in the throngs of ideal persons who surrounded him : but in his case, imagination was more active than memory ; strange figures were the most numerous. Though he saw absent and deceased persons, he was never haunted by those with whom he had daily intercourse ; the actual impressions they produced were not overpowered by vivified ideas, as is sometimes the case, when a person who has just left the room is believed to return, or a nurse who is sitting by the fire is at the same time seen within the bed curtain. One of the most curious instances of deception is where the apparition is at first composed of elements newly combined, and is afterwards, though a mere creature of the imagination, presented by memory. Persons subject to spectral illusions have been known to recognize

one or more favourite apparitions in a series of visits during the whole time that the morbid affection lasted. That the image of a deceased or absent friend, or of any living person, should frequently recur, is not surprising; that an imaginary image should do so, is a proof that the first illusive impression must have been very powerful.

The narrative which is given in the fifteenth volume of Nicholson's *Philosophical Journal*, by a writer who was capable of reasoning on his own experience of spectral illusion, not only throws light on the general subject of apparitions, but affords some means of comparison of the proportionate strength of recent and remote ideal impressions; while from Nicolai's narrative we learn something of the comparative force of recent and remote sensible impressions.

"I had a visit," says the writer, "from Dr. C., to whom, among other remarks," (relative to his morbid impressions,) "I observed that I then enjoyed the satisfaction of having cultivated my moral habits, and particularly in having always endeavoured to avoid being the slave of fear." This remark was occasioned by the fact that the apparition had always hitherto assumed an agreeable form. "When the doctor left me," he continues, "my relaxed attention returned to the phantasms, and some time afterwards, instead of a pleasing face, a visage of extreme rage appeared, which presented a gun at me, and made me start; but it remained the usual time, and then gradually faded away. This immediately shewed me the probability of some connexion between my thoughts and these images; for I ascribed the angry phantasm to the general reflection I had formed in conversation with Dr. C." (at which time a visual idea of some object of dread had doubtless passed through his mind). "I recollected some disquisitions of Locke, in his *Treatise on the Conduct of the Mind*, where he endeavours to account for the appearance of faces to persons of nervous habits. It seemed to me as if faces, in all their modifications, being so associated with our recollections of the affections of passions, would be most likely to offer themselves in delirium; but I now thought it probable that other objects could be seen if previously meditated upon. With this motive it was that I reflected upon landscapes and scenes of architectural grandeur, while the faces were flashing before me; and after a certain considerable interval of time, of which I can form no precise judgment, a rural scene of hills, valleys, and fields appeared before me, which was succeeded by another and another in ceaseless succession, the manner and time of their respective appearance, duration, and vanishing, being not sensibly different from those of the faces. All the scenes were calm and still, without any strong lights or glare, and delightfully calculated to inspire notions of retirement, of tranquillity, and happy meditation."—The narrator tells us how he followed up this experiment by other similar ones. He thought of books, and anon he saw books. He continues, "I was now so well aware of the connexion of thought with their appearances, that by fixing my mind on the consideration of manuscript instead of printed type, the papers appeared, after a time, only with manuscript writing; and afterwards, by the same process, instead of being erect, they were all inverted, or appeared upside down."

Our doctrine is, as our readers have seen, that spectral, acoustic, and tactual illusions are occasioned by ideal impressions being made more vivid than actual sensations. This vivification is caused by disease of body, or powerful mental excitement, which, in fact, operates by occasional physical disease. Visual ideas, being the most numerous and impressive, are the oftenest excited; acoustic deceptions are more common than tactual; and ideas of smell and taste, being comparatively few and weak, afford no materials for morbid impressions. Whether the deception at first arise from

physical or moral causes, it acts by means of the bodily organs; and therefore physical methods of counteraction should always be employed, whether moral influences be or be not also exerted. The physician did his patient more good by placing himself on the spot where the skeleton was believed to stand than by any reasoning he could have used, or any exertions to make his patient turn his attention to something else. The nerves are the medium of illusion, and the nerves therefore should be treated. The mind is the thing deceived, and not the deceiver; and the way to dispel the illusion is to rectify the instrument of deception.

Various circumstances have for some time been working together to effect a complete elucidation of the subject of which we are treating. The publication of Nicolai's case was the first advantage afforded. Dr. Ferriar, of Manchester, directed public attention to it in this country; and the materials he afforded were improved upon by Dr. Hibbert, in his work on the Philosophy of Apparitions. To this work we are indebted for some of the ideas we have offered, and for the suggestion of more. Sir Walter Scott too has studied it,—studied it from beginning to end, but with no other apparent advantage than gleaning some interesting cases, and presenting his readers with some hints which it is to be hoped they will amplify, as he has declined the task. What an opportunity has he lost of illustrating a dark region of life! The subject of supernatural appearances has for ages been treated poetically, and of late, medically and philosophically. Sir W. Scott, by uniting the philosophy and the poetry as we expected he would, might have produced a work of singular interest and beauty, instead of doing what in him lay to set back the world which he has such mighty power to roll onward. This is the more mischievous as it is certain that very gross superstition not only lurks among the ignorant classes of society, but is countenanced by some who ought to know better. We are still told that the belief of supernatural agency has been so useful in the world that it is an injury to society to loosen the restraints of hope and fear which it has imposed. We are still plied with stories (true and interesting we allow) of the detection of guilt and the reformation of the guilty, of consolation to the oppressed and support to the innocent, imparted by means of dreams and omens. We are asked what we think of the conversion of Colonel Gardiner, and of the discovery of murder which took place in the case of Corder, and in many similar instances. It is strange that the influences which operated in these cases should not be recognized, and that it should be forgotten how much misery has been caused by the superstition such persons would perpetuate. For one man who has been converted like Colonel Gardiner, hundreds have been impelled to crimes which they would not have perpetrated but from a belief that they were destined to do so. The intellects of thousands have been cramped by irrational fears, their energies perverted by degrading conceptions of the nature of Deity, their peace broken and their tempers soured by wrong notions of the purposes and modes of religious obedience. Every reader of history knows this; and if a record could be exhibited of the cases of suicide, of madness, of martyrdom, of death from terror which have been occasioned by popular superstitions, there would be an end of all argument for the maintenance of superstition through concern for the public good.

We have some sympathy with those who lament the approaching loss of the associations which are connected with popular superstitions. We are glad that they have lingered in this country till our poets and novelists,—Sir W. Scott especially,—could render them permanent as a matter of taste.

As long as superstitions are linked with truth, as long as they preserve any thing of the character of allegory, they must be permanent. The Grecian mythology, ancient as it is, is not worn out; but it remains, not as a system of superstition, but as a reservoir of beauty whence the imagination may draw refreshment, perhaps for ever. As far as the superstitions of this country subserve the same purpose, let them abide; but not as superstitions. Let fairies and goblins impart something of spirituality to natural objects even in the eyes of the labourer; but without engaging his belief, without causing one pang of terror to the most sensitive of his children. Let us exercise our imaginations by personifying our conceptions of a spiritual state; but not so as to make the most timid afraid of crossing a churchyard by moonlight. Let us mark all coincidences between ideal impressions and subsequent events, without fostering a belief in presentiments and omens.

It should be borne in mind that if, in the progress of society, some excitements of the imagination are lost, higher and better are substituted. As the aggregate experience of mankind accumulates, truth is developed, and the faculties of the mind approximate to a harmonious action. The imagination becomes more disposed to exercise itself on forms which have truth for their essence, and are therefore immortal, than on those which are inspired with a capricious and transient life. In the infancy of society, the imagination can find the elements of its creations in nature alone; and therefore its action is, for a time, pure. In a more advanced state, its elements are chosen from the dreams of a preceding age, and its illegitimate exercise gives birth to superstition. But the result of a further discipline of the universal mind is to make the imagination again subservient to truth; while the fuller development of truth expands and exalts the imagination.—Higher and purer excitements are at length administered by truth than ever sprang from delusion, however poetical. The thoughts and feelings suggested by the exercise of the abstract powers on real objects are more influential and permanent than any which originate in superstition. The associations which cluster around realities, in themselves insignificant, afford a greater variety of excitements than the machinery of pure fiction. The ignorant man observes an omen which intimates that a ship is lost at sea. He believes, and laments, and watches for tidings, and finds, perhaps, that the intimation accords with the fact; but his concern is more for the omen than the ship. His ideas and feelings are employed, not upon the interests of humanity which are involved, but on the observation and comparison of presentiments and arbitrary signs. The enlightened mind, in the mean time, is exercised by suggestions which imply no superhuman interference. If the shattered mast of a vessel, covered with seaweed, is seen drifting with the waves, a host of associations is summoned in an instant. Without the intervention of form or sound from above, tidings are conveyed of wreck and destruction: the scene is beheld—the farewell of companions about to be separated for a moment (but what a moment!)—the last bitter sympathy with those at home,—the manly resignation of some, the abject horror or brutal carelessness of others,—the last glance upwards to the lights of heaven, the last struggle with the waters, the loneliness of the vessel while steadying to sink, the utter desolation when she has disappeared, leaving only this fragment to convey the tidings to watchful hearts,—all this is witnessed by the refined imagination in the distinctness and power of reality. No omen ever told so much as this; no spirit could utter more.—Our own spirits are the only authorized revealers of what is passing above and around us, and we need no others. If we subject them to their appro-

priate influences, we shall learn tidings which we can little anticipate;—tidings more awful than ever ghost disclosed at dead of night; more sweet than ever fairy breathed in forest glade; more true than ever omens suggested, or airy voices confirmed.

Some mourners are even yet unwilling to relinquish the belief that departed spirits may hold communion with survivors. The desire of such intercourse is natural as long as the survivor and the departed are conceived to hold the same relation to each other as formerly, as long as the spirit is imagined to be invested with some of the attributes of mortality. The very supposition of recognizing it supposes also some manifestation of identity. If this should be so pervading as to preclude all doubt, all fear, all difficulty of communication; if, moreover, we could choose the time and place, we would almost lay down our own life for the sight of a familiar ghost. We would not choose a time or place itself furnishing associations which need be inferior to none in multitude and power. It would be awful, on a mountain top, to hear a still, small voice distinguishable in the thunder of the avalanche; to see a form rising through the mists which tumble below, or sweeping by on the blast; but here the forms and utterance of nature are sublime, and where the voice of God is put forth, no other should be heard. Nor should we choose the hour when we are basking on the hill-side, contemplating the blue distance and stretching our gaze so far into the world of mind that we would rather decline foreign aid till we have ascertained what we can accomplish for ourselves. Nor would we seek that aid in a moment of perplexity and difficulty, when the mind is not sufficiently open and calm for such communion as we should wish to institute. Least of all should we choose the hour of death, when, if ever, the soul should desire to be alone with its Maker.—We would invoke a spirit when in our solitary chamber; when the affections are stirring, and the intellect is not pre-occupied. We would entreat it to appear, not in stern solemnity, nor surrounded by unintelligible attributes, but, however wiser than ourselves, not graver; though purer, not colder. We would seek to know, not so much what the future has in store as what record of the past is preserved in the affections of a spirit; what is taking place at present in the unseen world, and especially, whether any change is going on in the released soul which shall alter its relation to ourselves in consequence of our prolonged residence here.—Such questions, however, never have been answered; and we may therefore conclude, independently of argument, that they never can be answered in this world; for it is not possible that the sighings, the yearnings, the prayers of the bereaved should have been thus long unheeded.

Happily for us, there are manifestations of the departed which can never be obscured while it is our will to preserve them,—forms presented to the mental eye, voices eloquent to the attentive soul. If together we have watched the changes of nature and learned the language of truth, our companionship cannot be destroyed by death. The spirit comes, like Uriel, on the slanting sunbeam; but not, like him, retiring as darkness draws on, it walks its nightly round with us under the burning stars. It ascends with the lark when she springs from her low nest, but returns perpetually to drown with a whisper the din of the crowd, to eclipse with a glance the vain pomp and glory of the world.—This is truly a spiritual, though not a supernatural presence: and no one who has experienced it can doubt that it is better adapted for purposes of consolation and improvement than any creation of the fancy, however beautiful, or any shadows of superstition, however mysterious and sublime.

AN AUTUMNAL WALK.

"Amid the beamings of the gentle days"—
 Yes, Nature's own sweet * chronicler ! I gaze
 On the original of thy deep line,
 Writ in the Maker's autograph divine.
 Oh ! who that feels their influence—e'er has felt
 Their softened witchery o'er his bosom melt,
 Silverly trembling through the depths of thought,
 Like moonbeams with the stream's fine essence wrought—
 But with a sigh will trouble the soft air,
 And ask himself why Thomsons are so rare ?

'Tis not that ever, o'er this fountful Earth,
 The springs are dry which give great spirits birth.
 The Seasons still pass by us, and unfold
 The same bright robes as in the days of old ;
 No chord is broke of Ocean's mighty lyre ;
 The ancient Sun glows with his early fire,
 Nor, 'mid the hyacinthine locks of Day,
 Can eye detect a touch of earthly grey ;
 The Wood's brown arms as full a leafage bear ;
 As soft a balm breathes on the twilight air ;
 As glad a hum comes from the thymy bee ;
 As warm a strain pours from the woodlark's tree ;
 Unchang'd in aught the sparkling Brooklet strays ;
 The River sings the song of other days ;
 Still the lone Mountain lifts his cloudy crown
 O'er the heath-purpled or gorse-golden down ;
 Still Morn's young breezes wave their fragrant wings,
 And Evening still her peace and splendour brings ;
 The Moon still walks in brightness, fine and fair,
 As when the deluge glass'd her gleaming hair ;
 Light in her gloom, entrancement in her woe,
 The stars above, the nightingale below,
 Night wears her coronal of worlds—no gem
 Has darken'd in her glorious diadem ;—
 All is the same, the same bright leaves are spread,
 And Man may read whatever Man has read ;—
 Yet few—how few !—are they who seek to find
 On Earth the symbols of the Earthless Mind ;
 Who trace, in every path of those that die,
 The spirit-footsteps of Eternity ;
 Who,—as the child's o'erflowing eyes behold
 Eve's cloudy Deloses afloat in gold,—
 Watch, with a joy that verges on divine,
 Th' escaping Light that glorifies the shrine !
 The rain has fallen—how wholly chang'd the view !
 What a superb expanse of solemn blue !
 What splendid pinnacles of dazzling white,
 Like snows on Alps, ridge the deep clouds with light !

* Thomson.

How their soft shadows, as they move along,
Like pensive memories, o'er the landscape throng,
Touching the prospect, as they touch the past,
With beautifying sadness to the last !
How endless the diversities of green,
Swept by their shades, with rapid gleams between,
Save where, on yon brake-upland's gentle breast,
A mist of tender sunshine seems to *rest* !—
Forth at each glance some fresh enchantment springs,
As plume by plume unfold a seraph's wings.

And lo the Distance, with its shadowy Hill,
Which through all time and change enthrals me still—
The dreamy Paradise of Torr and Moor,
Romantic now as in the days of yore,
Which still with sweet polarity constrains
My heart to vibrate to its blue domains—
Lo, the fine distance ! Eye it, and despair
To paint the fix'd or fleeting glories there ;
The thousand tints without one colour shewn,
And half those tints, chameleon's, seen and gone ;
Brown lost in blue, gray fading into gold,
Hues strange to fancy, and by words untold—
Untold, unspeakable,—for how should line
Of dust translate such poesy divine ?

Oh, how a human pen or pencil vie
With His who tints the Earth and tunes the Sky ?

Beautiful vision !—but how false the lay,
Which tells that Earth can feel for Man's decay ;
That, when the dying poet sighs farewell,
Maternal nature heeds his passing-bell,
Sobs in the gust, plains in the lonely cave,
And strews with leaves or flowers her favourite's grave !—
Ah ! if indeed meek Nature lov'd her child,
If Earth or Sky could feel his “ wood-notes wild,”
Less oft, less deeply, would they wail and mourn
Above the gentle Druid's peaceful urn,
Than o'er the sorrows with his life begun,
So early clouded, and so early done !
The Mother's eye would see with fonder pain
Life breath'd in sighs, than life breath'd back again.

But 'tis not thus : the Sons of Song expire,
And other hands protect the orphan lyre ;
Flowers, leaves, and snows, by turns their graves o'erspread,
But Nature wears no sables for the dead.
Like feels for like : if Nature *were* to moan,
Would it not be for sorrows more her own,
For dried-up Fountains and departed Flowers,
For setting Suns—for any griefs but ours ?
Should she not more lament one prostrate pine,
Than, mortal Stranger ! any fates of thine ?
And o'er the sear leaf, or crush'd daisy, pour
Tears never shed though Nations were no more ?

And, therefore, I forgive thee, Dartmoor dear !
 For beauty chang'd not o'er a mortal's bier—
 Forgive, that not a charm is pal'd or gone,
 Though fresh the mould on tuneful Carrington !
 Yes, the imprison'd falcon's course is run,
 His flutterings ended, and his pinings done ;
 He feels no more the pangs of daily pain,
 He bears no more the execrated chain ;
 Whate'er he brav'd, or brook'd, 'tis over now,
 And the cold earth is on his fever'd brow ;
 The painful night with all its dreams is past,
 And Carrington and Peace have met at last.

What now to him, that hundred eyes will shine
 With generous tears o'er this vain verse of mine ?
 What now to him, that many a voice of song
 Will the dear echoes of his harp prolong ?
 That they, who know but grief by name, will sigh,
 Their pure hearts touch'd by that pure melody ?
 And oh, that, last and least, one lingerer still,
 Oft as his eye rests on yon Moorland Hill,
 Gives the poor all he has to give, and showers
 That azure cenotaph with airy flowers ?

Yet let this be : he has not sung in vain,
 If the pure spirit of his living strain
 Can, from the beautiful of things that die,
 Erect a heart, or elevate an eye.
 For who can *see* the Beauty round him thrown,
 Nor some faint sympathy with Beauty own,
 Some leaning to divinity, some sense
 Of that which glorifies Omnipotence ?
 What were an evil God ? And what is Good,
 But the prime source of that exhaustless flood,
 With one rich deluge glorifying all,
 The seraph's paradise, the mortal's pall,
 Linking the soul with the material sod,
 Angels with men, and both, and all, with God ?
 Though homeward now my steps and thoughts I turn,
 Those steps still loiter, and those thoughts still burn ;
 Even as the sunset leaves a conscious glow
 Long, long behind, to speak of splendours low.
 Yet let me pause, where I so oft have stood,
 To gaze into the interdicted wood :
 (What mean monopoly of walks and shades
 Shuts up for *one* these sweet autumnal glades ?)
 How rich the tintings of the changing year !
 Few leaves have dropp'd, but not so few are sear,
 Fix'd but not firm, and forming yet a bower
 Impenetrable to the day-star's power.
 Though, here and there, a ruddy ray strikes down
 Through some deep rift, athwart the pathway brown,
 Yet, o'er the whole, the very sunbeams seem,
 As pale with thought, to shine not, but to *gleam*,

Making mysterious twilight of the day,
The spirit of the light without its clay,
A beautiful obscurity of leaf,
To Fancy dear, and dearer yet to Grief.
Aye, sad Remembrance ! 'twas on such a day
I turn'd me from my brother's corpse away,
And heard, as now I hear, the autumnal breeze
Rustling the leafage of my father's trees.
Oh, my young brother ! little do they deem
How oft thy spirit whispers to my dream ;
How oft, amid the walks *my* feet yet tread,
I see thee living, or I mourn thee dead.
Oh, still the haunter of my visions be,
Forgot by many, but more dear to me !
Still, when the winds sigh through the fading grove,
Let me recall that day of loss and love ;
Turn from thy grave with wisdom taught by grief,
And think *I* too am but a fading leaf ;
Feel the full vanity of human pain,
And live for worlds where we may meet again !
I bless thee, God ! that in my soul I feel
Founts which no change can stain, no age congeal—
Hopes born of grief, with which I would not part
For all the range of Nature and of Art,
For all the wealth of glowing India's shore,
For all the Inca's golden mountains bore.
Oh, while my spirit yet can spread her wing,
While my rude harp has one melodious string,
That plume shall waft her more than eagle-high,
That chord shall vibrate to Eternity !
And I *will* hope, when all beneath the sun,
Joy, pain, fear, doubt, and all but love is done,
All clouds dispers'd that dimm'd the heart or past,
The dying West will melt to peace at last,
And, griefs forgot and imperfections shriven,
My spirit yet will slake her thirst of Heaven.

Crediton, September, 30, 1830.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE GOSPEL NARRATIVES.*

THE first of the works of which the titles are given below, must have been deemed of great value by the delegates of the Clarendon Press ; for they

* Dissertations upon the Principles and Arrangement of a Harmony of the Gospels. By the Rev. Edward Greswell, M. A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 3 Vols 8vo. Oxford, at the University Press. 1830. Vol. I. pp. 598 ; Vol. II. pp. 573 ; Vol. III. pp. 353.

Harmonia Evangelica, sive Quatuor Evangelia Græce pro temporis et rerum serie in partes quinque distributa. Edidit Edvardus Greswell, A. M., Coll. C. C., apud Oxon. Socius. Oxonii, e Typographeo Academico. 1830.

undertook the publication of it, as well as of the Harmony, at great expense, and with little prospect of security from loss. Such a means of publishing works that cannot, from their nature, be popular, is an important aid to theological literature; and it is one of those good things exclusively connected with the Established Church, which one cannot but desire to see shared by those of other denominations who could make a suitable use of them. That, however, which is done by the old institutions of our country, is often better effected by popular associations, or by individual zeal and disinterestedness: and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, in the present case, if the learned author had had to depend solely upon ordinary resources, he would himself have had more patience, and produced a much more valuable work; that he would have brought it within a reasonable compass; that he would have considered the pockets of his purchasers, and still more the time of his readers; and that, instead of writing for the press, *currente calamo*, (as he often seems to have done,) he would have digested his data, weighed scrupulously his arguments, and given some proof that not only his good faith and his extensive learning might be relied upon, but also the closeness of his reasoning and the soundness of his judgment. Engaged, at intervals, for many years in similar investigations, and solicitous (before committing to the press a Harmony founded upon them which has long been prepared) to see whatever might be advanced on the subject by intelligent critics, the writer of this article sought, with earnestness, for an opportunity of examining Mr. Greswell's Dissertations. A work of such magnitude, published by the Syndics of the University press, he thought must at least contain abundance to inform; and if he should not be led by the author materially to change his own opinions as to the arrangement and chronology of the gospel history, he believed that he might gain from him some new light, and at any rate feel more secure as to the correctness of that which he followed. He has, however, experienced little but disappointment in his examination of the reasonings of the Dissertator. Mr. Greswell has accumulated a great mass of materials; but a large portion are irrelevant; and as to the remainder, there is such diffuseness in the statement, and so much regardlessness of the convenience of the reader, (which might have been promoted by even ordinary attention to arrangement and reference,) that it is often difficult to discern the train of reasoning, or see to what conclusion it is leading. What is worse, there is a continual tendency manifested in his Dissertations to press every connected consideration to support his views; and under the influence of this, he often strains coincidences, magnifies and multiplies evidence, passes over difficulties, and comes to conclusions, by processes which have little more than the form of reasoning, and then argues from them as if they were established truths.

There is a work on connected subjects,* of a vastly higher character for method and arrangement, from the study of which Mr. Greswell might have learned various useful lessons, and among them that degree of brevity which does not prevent perspicuity.

"I know not in what manner," says this respectable and judicious critic,†

* *The Chronology of our Saviour's Life: or an Inquiry into the true time of the Birth, Baptism, and Crucifixion, of Jesus Christ.* By the Rev. C. Benson, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: printed at the University Press. 1819. 1 Vol. 8vo. pp. 343.

† *Chronology of our Saviour's Life*, p. 336, referring to Le Clerc's Dissertations prefixed to his Harmony, p. 583.

"I can better explain the views with which I have written, and the course which I have pursued, than by adopting the simple and honest words of Le Clerc, who is not only one of the most sensible, but, what is of some consequence to the shortness and uncertainty of human life, one of the most concise of all the writers on the chronology of our Saviour's life."

Of the value of time to others, Mr. Greswell appears not to have had any consideration. He says, indeed, (Pref. p. xi.,) that if he has erred "it has been on the score of an over-anxious diligence to render" his "Dissertations even tediously scrupulous and elaborately minute, rather than leave them perfunctory or superficial." But if he would have given his arguments a compact form, and arranged them so as to present their real value, more (even when they are sound) would have been done for conviction, than by offering them like scattered grains of sand, or running "wool-gathering" to find them when they are wanting.

It is, however, right, that the author should be allowed to state for himself the course he has pursued.

"The best apology," he says, "which I can offer in behalf of the present work, is a candid statement of the circumstances out of which it arose. I was previously engaged upon an inquiry of a different nature, though connected, it is true, with sacred literature,* which necessarily required me to examine, more narrowly than I had ever done before, into the relations of time and place, affecting the order and succession of events throughout the different portions of the gospel history. In the course of this examination, during which I had to consult some of the most popular Harmonies, I could not but observe in them such remarkable inconsistencies as were abundantly sufficient to convince my own mind that the principles upon which they had proceeded could not be right. The dissatisfaction produced by this discovery determined me to lay them aside, and to take the four original narratives, and nothing more, into my hands, with a view to frame out of them, for myself, a system which, if it possessed no other merit, might at least avoid such difficulties as had appeared so glaringly and so palpably in the cases alluded to."—Pref. p. v.

To avoid these difficulties, Mr. Greswell has plunged into much greater. What Harmonies he peculiarly refers to, under the designation of "the most popular," we are not apprized; but comparing his own with Archbishop Newcome's, (published when Bishop of Waterford,) we see nothing to give it the superiority in its technical execution (except indeed the size); but much, as we may hereafter have occasion to shew, that renders it far inferior in convenience of reference, and in the easy comparison of the gospels: as respects the general system of Mr. Greswell's Harmony, it yields to Newcome's in solidity of basis, and still more in the development and statement of the principles by which, in various cases, the arrangement is decided.

"The result of this endeavour," he continues, "is the ensuing Harmony, in the form and shape under which it is now submitted to the public: a shape and a form very different from that idea of it which its author had conceived before he proceeded to the execution of his purpose. Had he fully comprehended, indeed, the true nature and extent of his undertaking, and into how wide a field of research and disquisition he would insensibly be led, he must have shrunk back from the attempt with a well-founded distrust of his ultimate success: and perhaps he may consider it a fortunate circum-

* "The work to which I allude is an Exposition of the Gospel Parables."—The account given of this work by respectable critics, gave the writer of this article a favourable expectation, but little realized, as to the merits of the Dissertations.

stance that he was too inextricably involved in the task, and too deeply interested in its completion, to be able or disposed to recede from its prosecution, when experience had convinced him of its magnitude and its difficulty."—Pref. p. v.

The author does not say *for whom* it may perhaps be considered as "a fortunate circumstance;" and we are ourselves at a loss to conjecture. He has, obviously, the merit of great activity of mind, earnestness of study, fertility of invention, and exuberance of diction. His ideas flow rapidly; and seem to have been recorded with equal rapidity. But he appears quite unable to prune, to arrange, and to compress: and, instead of communicating in a simple, compact form, the conclusions at which he has arrived—after having written *in order* to investigate, and committed to paper all the trains of thought, in all their detail, by which he has himself been led to his results, and even all the rambles he has taken from the course he had marked out for himself—he gives the whole, in all its crudity, to the public. In works of amusement, or even of the lighter kinds of information, such a course might not be censurable: but the delegates of the Clarendon Press will do well to require from those whom they encourage to write for the students of theology and criticism, to take Benson and Whately as their models rather than Dr. Hales and Bishop Burgess; to complete their works, or at least to mark out their entire plan, before they begin to employ the printer; and, in disquisitions like those of the Dissertations, to prevail upon the author to suppose that the delay of a few years will probably be of no injury to his *reputation*, and certainly not to his *usefulness*.

Entering upon investigations thus new to him, some topics must necessarily present themselves to the dissertator which others had adequately discussed. For these he should have made reference to the respective authors, rather than give the student the trouble of reaching their conclusions through his devious routes. For other topics he had not sufficiently prepared himself, by duly considering the objections which had previously been urged against the opinions which he himself formed, and which he sometimes maintains with as much confidence as if they were established and acknowledged truths. And where he has been successful, what is valuable is often blended with so much that is dubious or erroneous, and is presented in a form so little adapted to the requirements of the case, that it is viewed with less of satisfaction and conviction than it might otherwise have obtained.

But we must again listen to the author.

"When I conceived the design of the following composition, I determined to adopt a rule, to which I have rigidly adhered throughout, and for adhering to which I have hitherto had no reason to blame myself. This was, that, in discussing any question, or solving any difficulty which might present itself, I would trust as much as possible to my own researches, and with the help only of the gospel narratives, and of such other collateral resources as are open to the learned world in general, I would endeavour to reason and to decide for myself. For I was persuaded that, with a mind disengaged from preconceived opinions, or attachment to particular systems, a moderate share of ability would be sufficient to guide an inquirer."—Pref. p. vi.

So far is excellent. There is a growing disposition among the younger part of the intelligent clergy "to reason and to decide" for themselves; which, after being exercised on the outposts of popular doctrines, may gradually be brought to the bastions and the towers of the citadel itself. We are persuaded that, with "a moderate share of ability," and "a mind disengaged from preconceived opinions, or attachment to particular systems,"

the serious inquirer after truth, fairly approaching the massy fortress of modern orthodoxy, will soon discover that it is untenable, and may even find it crumble into dust at the first decided attack.—But Mr. Greswell adds,

“—nor did I see by what other means, than by carefully avoiding all admixture of borrowed matter, I could compose, on a subject which has been so repeatedly handled, any thing of an original character.”

Originality on such topics is not a primary consideration. Truth as the final result, fearless caution and faithful accuracy in the investigation of it, and a judicious development of the steps by which it has been attained, and by which it is proposed to lead others to it, are of incomparably more importance. If Mr. Greswell had thought less of himself, and more of those whom he desired to enlighten, he would probably have perceived that the course through which inquiries are conducted, is often widely different from that by which the results are to be communicated; and that he who desires to convey sound information to others, must often have the firmness to pass by his own (even interesting) speculations, and present to them that only which will conduct them to his own conclusions, and shew the solid foundation of them.

“It is one consequence of this rule,” continues the author, referring to his system of trusting as much as possible to his own researches, “that I have been spared what would have been the most unpleasant part of my task, much dispute and controversy; for there is scarcely an opinion connected with the questions requiring to be discussed, which has not some adversary or other. It has rarely happened, therefore, that I have openly entered the lists upon any point, or against any opponent; or that, even where I had particular opinions to combat, I have not been satisfied with stating the most competent arguments on my side of the question, without proceeding to notice what might be urged in favour of the contrary. Had I not done this, I must have enlarged the present work to twice its legitimate extent.”

Mr. Greswell should have said to *thrice* its legitimate extent; for to *more than twice* he already has; and must, surely, have some consciousness that such is the case. After all, however, its *legitimate* extent is that which is necessary to present a just and adequate investigation of the positions which he undertakes to establish; and how that can be effected, on subjects of such a nature as those of his Dissertations, without considering the reasonable objections against them, we do not know. But we have a more serious charge to make against the author; that he has, repeatedly, brought forwards the opinions of others, as the object of his attack, without giving the reader, by suitable references, the opportunity of examining for *himself* the arguments on which those opinions are supported; and that he has sometimes passed by, without notice, or with dogmatic condemnation, the views of men who had studied long and deeply some of the “questions requiring to be discussed.”

Altogether Mr. Greswell's work is little to be recommended as a repository of sound and valuable information; still less as a model for the theological student, to teach him how to pursue his own investigations and to present the results of them to others. What Blumenbach is reported to have said of phrenology, may, with some exceptions, be applied to these Dissertations—“What is judicious is not new, and what is new is not judicious.” It would be difficult to find any modern work, of tolerable pretensions to learning and critical talent, which, taken as a whole, more deserves the designation of *rudis indigestaque moles*. And yet there is such a character of conviction throughout, and the author has, obviously, so much desire to attain

the truth, in his own way, that, in various parts, it is not without satisfaction we accompany him, till he leaves us for other speculations which, however closely his own links of association may unite them with the subject, only tend to bewilder the reader if not the author himself.

The fundamental point to be decided before attempting a chronological arrangement of the gospel narratives, is, the *duration of our Saviour's Ministry*; in other words, the interval between his Baptism and his Crucifixion. Was he crucified at the second, the third, or the fourth passover after his baptism?

When this is settled, we have next to consider the peculiar texture of each gospel so far as respects the succession of events, and to determine which of the first three gospels may, with most reason, be employed as our guide in the arrangement.

All this may be done without any knowledge of the exact year of our Lord's baptism and death; but if we adventure further, and assign dates, according to our own calendar, to the events of the gospel history, it is necessary to ascertain those eras.

This necessarily leads to the inquiry what St. Luke meant by the fifteenth year of Tiberius; and on the ascertainment of this also depends the probable date of our Lord's birth, which derives its chief importance from its connexion with the genuineness of the Introduction to St. Matthew's Gospel, and with the enrolment mentioned in St. Luke's Introduction.

These points we propose to consider in succession; and when stating the views which we deem most probable, we shall take opportunities of considering the speculations and arguments of Mr. Greswell's Dissertations.

HEBREW LYRIC.

(From Joel ii. 23, &c.)

REJOICE! Oh ye children of Zion, rejoice,
And be glad in Jehovah your God!
Behold, how the famine is stay'd at his voice—
He hath scatter'd its terrors abroad!

The dews of the heav'ns o'er your valleys are shed,
And the promise of plenty they shew;
The corn in your garners shall deeply be spread,
And your wine and your oil shall o'erflow!

In God be your hope—and the pastures shall spring,
And with fruits be the wilderness strew'd;
The trees that were stricken, their produce shall bring,
And the strength of the vine be renew'd.

In fear and in gladness, Oh lift up your song
To Jehovah whose mercies endure!
In faintness and sorrow, seek him who is strong—
To the humble his favour is sure.

Birmingham.

H. H.

THE WATCHMAN.

No. XV.

" Watchman, what of the night ? Watchman, what of the night ? The Watchman said, 'The morning cometh, and also the night.'" Isaiah xxi. 11, 12.

IT was in the days of the kings of Israel, when a wicked monarch had apostatized from the sole Creator and Sovereign of the universe, when the people, led astray by his example, had bent the knee to idol gods, and the ministers of Jehovah had been slain, and his altars destroyed, that a faithful Theist stood forth alone, and, with his life in his hand, challenged to a trial of their pretensions the numerous priests of him who had audaciously been made the rival of the King of Heaven. Unsupported by others, he was strong in himself—surrounded by foes, he remained undaunted—and thus "left alone," and thus beset, he carried forward to victory the cause of God, confounding his enemies and vindicating his Creator's rights. It is an instance of true sublimity. The sublimity is not the less that the Theist's name was Elijah. Centuries elapsed, and a great reformer appeared upon the earth. He offered to his countrymen the choicest blessings; they rejected them. He persevered in ceaseless labours to do them good; they rewarded him with ceaseless persecution. He healed their diseased, fed their hungry, solaced their poor; they put his life in jeopardy. He chose a few of the country to be the special objects of his instructions and favour; in the hour of his need they all forsook him and fled. No sufferings could overcome his love; he continued pouring forth warnings, advice, and blessings, till he underwent crucifixion at the hands of those very persons whom he came to seek and to save. It is an instance of true sublimity. The sublimity is not the less that the Reformer's name was Jesus Christ. After another considerable interval, there arose a spirit that could unlock the springs of feeling in every human bosom, that could bring the secrets of heaven to earth, and raise the soul of man from earth to heaven, a spirit fraught with the noblest thoughts, breathing forth in amplest measure a love of freedom and a hatred of tyranny. In the service of his species the possessor of that spirit lost his sight. Driven by the evil days on which he had fallen into obscurity, he bated not a jot of heart or hope, but full of self-satisfaction and inspired by the Eternal Spirit, the blind and ill-treated patriot composed a work, and in that work left to his age and his country a blessing in return for a curse. It is an instance of true sublimity. And the sublimity is not the less that the name of the blind man was John Milton.

Some years after his death, it happened that there appeared in the world a body of men allied to him in spirit and in sentiment. They believed themselves the depositaries of important truth. To accept that truth they invited their fellow-countrymen, and from those who rejected the offer, we learn that in the midst of failure, obloquy, disgrace, privation, contempt, and scorn, in the possession of "a lot viewed on every side, secular, professional, and spiritual, beyond all comparison wretched,"* these men remained faithful to their principles, unpurchased and unpurchaseable, and maintained their post in the very front of the enemy, though galled by an incessant fire, preferring death to treachery. It is an instance of true sublimity.

* Eclectic Review, October, Art. 1.

And the sublimity is not the less that the name of the faithful band was Unitarian. All the infelicities in the situation of Unitarian ministers, a writer in the *Eclectic Review* for the last month has heaped together, adding of gall a sufficient quantity, and with the compound he labours hard to disparage the Unitarian cause. The silly man ! Does he not see that he has, however undesignedly, pronounced the finest eulogium on principles which lead men to endure the most "wretched" "lot," rather than fall in with popular errors ? Grant that the Unitarian minister is as wretched as he affirms. The more "miserable" his lot, the greater is the proof he affords of his sincerity. What assignable motive is there that should keep him in his "wretched" condition but a sincere and ardent attachment to the convictions of his mind ? The barter of his integrity would be at least a diminution of his suffering, if not a reversal of his fate. But no, he thinks not of it. He would rather die at his post than even retire to the inglorious silence of private life. Though it should prove that he were appointed to serve in the forlorn hope of the Christian cause—the greater the danger the more the honour—he has a heart for the service, and victory or death is the watch-word of his band. There he stands, an object whom the enemy may pity but cannot condemn. And do others present themselves to take their station as the veterans are called from their honourable service ? Is the wretchedness voluntarily imposed and cheerfully endured ? Yes. Then the men who act thus, whether veterans or recruits, act nobly. Strength and purity of moral principle they must possess. The spirit of Milton, of Elijah, of Christ, is in them, and that spirit is not the worse because those who have it are termed Unitarians. How immeasurably are they above the pigmy stature of persons who faint if they do not make godliness a gain ! Surely it was in an evil hour that this "second Daniel" chose such a topic as the ground of his attack on Unitarians. To him it doubtless appeared fraught with terror. Men judge others by themselves, and in the estimation of one used to the platform, what so terrific as the absence of "thunders of applause" ? Those who live in a crowd, need a crowd to live in. Not only so, but they think every one else miserable in retirement. "Unhappy Unitarians,"—thus, therefore, spoke our orator as he rummaged his brain for weapons of assault—"Unhappy Unitarians, no popular voice cheers you on, no assembled crowds regale your eyes, no 'distant tinklings' charm your hearts and tinge your thoughts with gold. Unhappy Unitarians, your alms are not detailed to listening multitudes, your benefactions stand not enrolled with those of peers and prelates ; retired you live, retired you teach, retired you 'communicate,' retired you die. Wretched lot ! Happy I whom success stimulates, on whose pasture hundreds 'drop fatness,' and into whose ear hundreds pour the 'sweet infection of their glad acclaim.'" Under the influence of such feelings, the *Eclectic Reviewer* may well wonder what it is that supports the Unitarian minister in the midst of the alleged infelicities of his lot. That infelicities exist, we do not deny ; that the Reviewer has grossly overrated them, he can hardly, if competent to write on the subject he has chosen, fail to be aware. But the greater they are, the greater the merit of the men, and the greater the excellence of the system that he rudely assails. It will not, however, delay us long to apprise the orthodox champion that even "wretched" Unitarian ministers have sources of support. They have acted the part of honest men and they know it. They have not held the truth in unrighteousness. They have not hid their light under a bushel. They have not thought with the wise and spoken with the vulgar. They have tendered truth and its claims more dearly than

honour or profit. Of all these things they have the consciousness. Openly, fully, and freely, to their detriment "on every side, secular, professional, and spiritual," they have proclaimed their convictions. Let it be supposed that they have reaped no harvest of success. One of some authority has taught them that there must be sowing before reaping comes. Others they doubt not will enter into their labours and gather abundantly the fruits. Of the final triumph of truth, they are as certain as that God is good and faithful. Its universal prevalence they feel, no doubt, will take place as soon as consistent with His designs who ordereth all things well. These thoughts fill their breast. In the discharge of their duty and to banish error, they have done what they could. The event they calmly leave with One whom they know too well to impeach, and love too well to distrust.

These are among the sources of their support; and if the Reviewer cannot appreciate the value of them he had better study his Bible before he resumes his pen. This, however, we have to say to our assailant, that we prefer our wretchedness to his splendour. Many as are the good things he enjoys, they are not baits alluring enough to catch the humblest Unitarian. The possession and the maintenance of honest convictions we hold dearer than the Indies, and we have learnt to feel in this manner whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. And throughout this kingdom there are hundreds of the same spirit—men who have sold all things, and come to a "wretched lot," in order to follow Christ—men who are ashamed of nothing but treachery, and who, for the sake of truth, will bear, as they have borne, all the dirt which orthodox hands may heap upon them, and think they do not a jot more than their duty. How preferable to think and act with such men, few though they be, than with the herd! Fond as he is of human applause, the Reviewer surely is not so greedy as to devour garbage. At least he estimates most what proceeds from the best. If so, the unhappy Unitarian minister may, after all, be more nearly on a par with him than he imagines. Shew me a Unitarian, and you shew me a man of sense. The humblest of the body can render a reason and refuse a bribe. If you seek strength of mind, strength and consistency of principles, we find in the Unitarian body the possessors of them on the right hand and on the left, before and behind. The suffrage of such, small though their number compared with the many, is worth the noisy and inane shouts of myriads. How unguarded is this Eclectic Reviewer! How unfit a hand to be trusted with a delicate subject! He actually ventures to praise his own sect as standing in the front of whatever is "free" and "dauntless:" his sect, the misnamed Calvinists, the head of which perpetrated a legal murder on Servetus, and the tail of which, in the recent struggles for religious liberty, took its station, as all modest tails ought to do, behind—inglorious position for the "free" and "dauntless." Perhaps he may know, if not we can tell him, who amongst religionists led the van on these memorable occasions. The very men whom he traduces, the Unitarian body, have the proud consciousness of having been throughout the struggle the first in and the last out of the field, the foremost in danger, the greatest sufferers in the strife. In their conduct, whatever there may have been in that of others, there has been no inconsistency, no vacillation. From first to last they to a man have been the declared, active, indefatigable friends of universal religious liberty. And now, who like them labours to strike the fetters from off the Jew? Whose petitions, save theirs, were offered for the removal of an impediment, and a disgrace from Christianity, by staying the prosecutions of unbelievers? Who else protested against the introduction of a test even

into the very act of Dissenting Emancipation? *This* conduct is "free" and "dauntless;" and for it they have had to pay a price. And they that have exacted that price have been in some instances among the body whose organ is the Eclectic Review. Religious liberty has, however, notwithstanding the lukewarmness of some and the desertion of others, "triumphed gloriously." And in that triumph we rejoice; rejoice like men and Christians; not joining the triumphal procession in the rear, and swelling shouts which we had taken no trouble and run no risk to occasion. Asks the detractor what supports us? The triumphs of liberty and the consciousness of having acquitted ourselves as men in the contest. Apart from all personal considerations we rejoice in the victories reaped. It matters little to us by whose hand. Mankind is benefited—we are content. At such a feeling the Reviewer may again, if he chooses, smile and sneer. The feeling is not the worse because he cannot appreciate it. Good or bad in his eyes, we hold it, and in it we will exult. The triumphs of religious emancipation are our triumphs. We have been amongst the armed bands who fought the fight, and dearer than any other thing do we hold that liberty wherewith Christ has made his followers free. Yes, strange as it may sound to the ears of one trained to the slavery of creeds, dearer than any sentiments; for liberty, if it is not in all instances connected with, will eventually lead to, truth. Whoever, then, is the conqueror, we will rejoice at the conquest. And amidst the pleasing visions which the prospect of an emancipated world presents, we will exult in the thought that liberty will make Unitarianism universal, if Unitarianism be of God, and if not, will give the dominion to that which is in such a case better than Unitarianism—the truth. Whatever prevails, the lovers of truth more than of sectarianism will share in the gain and the triumph, and whether or not Unitarians are of this description they know perhaps as well as the Reviewer.

But look at your abject state, exclaims the champion of orthodoxy, look and weep, "miserable" men. Does this doughty assailant really think our condition so low as he represents? His words are mighty; his deeds betray fear. He trembles at his very fingers' ends in the presence of these terrible Unitarians. "Insignificant sect," he says, and belies his words by turning pale. "Unworthy of notice," and pens a long article in opposition to them. "Dying if not dead," and brandishes his double-edged weapon. Brave and "dauntless" man! Oh! the honour of thrice slaying the slain. His acts, as do acts generally, weigh more in the scales of testimony than his words. We take their evidence, and are consoled to think that our affairs are in a flourishing condition, and that our opponents are alarmed since they have sent forth "Giant Great-heart" to war against the misbelievers. After all, we know perhaps as much of our condition as Goliath of Gath. Of the evils and discouragements attending the actual state of Unitarianism in England we have already, as honest Watchmen, given a report. With the state of things which it exhibits we were and we remain dissatisfied. But to complete the picture there should be, what we always designed to append, a chapter exhibiting Unitarianism in its progress rather than in its actual condition, in its triumphs rather than in its defects, and comprising some notice of its spread in foreign lands. This we shall now briefly attempt, and if we mistake not, the Reviewer will find that Unitarians have causes of rejoicing fitted to increase the alarm which prevails in the Calvinistic circle. In a short time we hope the actual state of the Unitarian body in this kingdom will be ascertained on the evidence of authentic documents. Meanwhile we will not quarrel about a dozen or a score of congregations, more

or less; or take exceptions to the Reviewer's grudging and deficient allowance of "their four, or, it may be, five well-filled chapels in London, Birmingham, Manchester." He doubts that we have "a large middle class which supports a healthy appearance." He proves thereby nothing but his ignorance. Congregations of this description are the bulk and strength of our connexion. There is then a class whose average attendance we should estimate at from 150 hearers down to, at the lowest, 30 or 40. These are chiefly the remains of old Presbyterian congregations, which have become Unitarian under circumstances unfavourable to active and zealous proselytism. It is not true that they have declined as Unitarian congregations. They declined before they became so. However few or small, their existence in the Unitarian ranks is so much clear addition. They have been saved from the extinction towards which, as Presbyterian, they were hastening, and we trust that the practicability, which some cases have demonstrated, of their revival, by the use of proper means, will not be thrown away upon us. In the kingdom of Great Britain the aggregate number of Unitarian congregations is probably between three and four hundred. To this we must add the late secession from the ranks of orthodoxy in Ireland, consisting of perhaps a score of congregations, for the most part large, and composed of the various ranks in society, with the exception of the highest. A census, we think, of the Unitarians in the three kingdoms would prove that their congregations are above 400. Let us inquire whence they came and how long they have been in arriving at this point. They came mostly from the ranks of orthodoxy. Aye, there's the rub. The secession pains the Reviewer and his friends. They look upon it with regret, and they look upon it with fear: regret that their ranks are thinned, fear that they may suffer yet greater loss. Well, they proceed mostly from the ranks of orthodoxy. Some have been gained from the world; others from indifference, occasioned by orthodox extravagance; and others from unbelief, occasioned by orthodox credulity. Still, most have come directly out of the ranks of the orthodox battalions. And is here no cause of triumph to the Unitarian? How can he do otherwise than rejoice at the progress of truth? Let our Calvinistic assailant turn an eye on his own body. Where is Calvinism, one of the much vaunted "doctrines of the Reformation?" Where? In the Institutes? In the Assembly's Catechism? In mouldering creeds, brought forth thrice in a century to swear withal a man to absurdities which now he dares not preach? Where is Calvinism? Not on the lips of misnamed Calvinistic ministers, but banished under the nick-name of Antinomianism to the heads of a few noisy and ignorant declaimers. Yet the name remains—the profession remains. The thing is departed in the respectable company of ghosts and witches. Yet men are found "free and dauntless" enough to subscribe to that which they neither preach nor teach; aye, subscribe with their own hand and profess with their own lips. The Unitarian is overwhelmed with abuse if the lapse of time and the progress of opinion have chanced to throw him upon a bit of pasture on which formerly Trinitarian cattle fed. O horrible impiety! Is it not as horrible for Arminian preachers to be Calvinistic professors, and to add to this the crime of feeding on Calvinistic viands? However, in the victory of good sense over scholastic divinity Unitarianism triumphs. Outraged nature has vindicated her rights. The bosom bound by the iron creed of Calvinism has broken its bonds asunder. We rejoice, yea, and therein will rejoice. And the Trinity, what has your own body recently made of it? A triplicity of distinctions. Here is one triumph, in the softening down and explaining away of the harshness of

your creeds. Already even your own body are a century in advance of your formularies of faith. The atonement too has, age after age, been frittered away till now it is little more than the "reconciliation" of the New Testament. Yet there it stands in your confessions in all its revolting features, shaming those even whom it ought to delight. It matters not. The thing is changed, the name will disappear. These are our triumphs. The world is too wise to endure the style of preaching in vogue two centuries since. Differently from their predecessors the orthodox of the day must preach; or they would soon cease to preach at all. The natural feelings of humanity, though still abused and still repressed, have assumed somewhat of their native empire; they are even now too strong for system, and rather than lose their influence the orthodox have changed their teaching. Here is our triumph. Your flocks have approximated to us, and your ministers have followed. Our principles have spread amongst them, and you and your associates have taken them up, and kept your name with a change of character. Amongst you, also, there are men who are in advance of their congregations, who preach the pure gospel, at least occasionally, and would do so more frequently did they not feel themselves obliged in the present state of society to appear less wise than they really are. By the better educated among you, Unitarianism is sometimes preached, though the holy horror which bigots have attached to it prevents the mention of the name. Both indirect and direct is the influence of our principles among you; and shall we not rejoice that truth is making progress? For names we care not much. Let creeds be purified; let liberty prevail; let the gospel be preached in purity and in power, and we thank him heartily who is the minister of God's goodness, by whatever name he is known to men.

The period is but short in which the progress mentioned has been made. Two generations have not passed away since the revival of Unitarianism began in England. Priestley has hardly yet mouldered to ashes. Belsham's corpse is scarcely cold. The eye-witnesses of the first, and the pupils of the latter, adorn our churches or fill our pulpits. Within so short a period have nearly four hundred congregations been withdrawn from orthodoxy or gathered out of the world, has Calvinism been banished from the haunts of men, the atonement stripped of most of its unsightly and unscriptural features, and the Trinity reduced to a triplicity of distinctions. Orthodoxy, thou changeful thing, outnumbering even Proteus in thy forms, varying thy colours, as the chameleon, with the thousand lights in which thou art placed, how hast thou lost thy once robust and well-fleshed form, and dwindled into a shade of thy former self! Kind is it of thy friends in this thy wasted condition to forage in the camp of the enemy, that with his spoil they may reward thy forbearance, and save if possible thy emaciated body from going down to "the sides of the pit." But what, asks the opponent, do these people do for the promotion of your cause? Not enough, if by that you mean the promotion of our peculiar sentiments. But for the poor, the sick, the ignorant, more than will ever be known till the day of final account, and more perhaps than those do who are aided in their beneficence by the coveted meed of human applause. And what do Unitarians for foreign lands? We will first speak of what our principles effect. Did the Reviewer ever hear of orthodoxy springing up spontaneously from the soil? We think not. It is a thing for man to make, not for God to give. The rains and dews of Heaven are of a nature too refined to quicken it into being, or to nourish its gross and earthy form. But Unitarianism is God's power in man's heart. The Bible is the only quickener which in a thou-

sand cases it has had. In the very midst of the thorns and weeds of orthodoxy, the heaven-born plant has sprung and flourished. So clear and abundant is the evidence which the Bible affords of the truth of the great principles of Unitarianism, that both in England and in foreign countries many, very many, have adopted the pure faith of Christ without human aid, without reading a Unitarian work, without having heard of the Unitarian name, though the adoption required them to work their way, unaided by man, through the mass of orthodox corruption which ages had accumulated. This spontaneous revival of primitive truth is now in rapid progress. Often have the Reviewer's party themselves borne their extorted testimony to the progress of Unitarianism in Germany. We do not assert that all that is novel in that interesting land is our heritage. From much of it we carefully abstain. But much also is the whole and the unadulterated gospel. In other parts of the Continent our principles are beginning to prevail we know not how. The Bible, with God's blessing, has been the only preacher. In France, especially in Paris, and around the shores of the Mediterranean, the glorious truth of God's unity and essential goodness many a heart once bound in orthodox bondage recognizes with exultation. What a revolution of sentiment has taken place in Geneva! In the very head quarters of Calvinism, Unitarianism is all but universal. And yet this Calvinist asks for our triumphs, and wonders where we find support. In Poland we should have met with "a great multitude" of men professing the pure faith of Jesus, had not orthodox cruelty exiled those whom it could not purchase. But in Transylvania the sufferers for conscience' sake are found, and their pastors, men of learning, sense, and zeal, bring together to their temples what our opponent denies to be possible, "a fair proportion of the several orders, the opulent, the mercantile, and the poor." We number there not less than 40,000 professors, with a noble apparatus of churches, schools, and colleges, supported by their own voluntary contributions; and they have been and are in a state of regular increase.

Still, is it said, you have done nothing for foreign lands? Who planted the seeds of Unitarianism in the United States of America but Priestley and a few other English worthies? To that country let the assailant turn his attention. Throughout that interesting land he that has watched the progress of religion for the last few years may have seen society after society seceding from the orthodox communion, and new chapels rising in quick succession, so that the education of ministers cannot keep pace with the rapid change.* From the Unitarians, properly so called, let us turn to Universalists. Their churches are to be reckoned by hundreds, and they are nearly all of the Unitarian faith. To these must be added the secession which, under Elias Hicks, recently took from the ranks of Trinitarianism nearly half the Quakers of the United States. The most interesting body remains to be mentioned. A few years since a number of persons in various parts of the Union, disgusted with orthodox intolerance and resolved to be as free as God and Christ had made them, left, simultaneously as it happened, various communions of those who, with all their diversities, are still termed orthodox. They began to use the rights which they had ventured to assert. They read, thought, and determined, each for himself, the Bible only being their guide. The result might have been predicted. They

* See the last Annual Report of the American Unitarian Association in a subsequent part of this number.

became Unitarians. Freely they received, freely they resolved to give. They began to preach, addressing chiefly the poor; in labours they were indefatigable, in zeal ardent and enlightened; and what was the result? Let the assailant listen, and in listening his ears will tingle. They have thirty Conferences in order to maintain a friendly intercourse between states remote from each other, and to bring into active operation the energies of the whole body for the support and promotion of the general cause. They support three periodical works. The number of their churches is nearly one thousand, of their communicants above 50,000, and of their attendants above 200,000. These are all Unitarians. "*The doctrine of the Trinity was canvassed, brought to the test of revelation, and universally rejected, with all its concomitants, as unscriptural and antichristian.*" Thus they speak in a report of themselves which now lies before us. Here, Sir, is the type of your own downfall. England will do what America has done, and your years are numbered. And here too are the elements of your conviction. Unitarianism is "a thing that none will listen to." Look at the Unitarian Christians. "A thing that inspires its converts with no zeal." Look at the Unitarian Christians. "A thing that scatters, not gathers." Look at the Unitarian Christians. "A thing," what else will it please you to put down in the bill of indictment? Our answer is ready. Look at the Unitarian Christians. In another part of your invective, you tell us that Unitarianism cannot endure competition with other sects. Why, it has risen by and through competition. But look at the Unitarian Christians. Can you adduce a parallel case on the side of Orthodoxy? One thousand churches formed in a quarter of a century, not amid easy-minded and ignorant Otaheitans, but in a civilized and enlightened country. And formed, we would have you remember, without pious fraud, without exaggerated reports, without baneful excitement, without such steam-engines as are your public meetings, without the frothy verbiage of platform orators; formed from the pure motives of the love of God, of truth, of man; formed honestly. And yet we are told that Unitarianism is "a thing of silence, gloom, emptiness, coldness, despondency!"

On this head we have another account to settle with you. Between the progress of Unitarianism and that of Methodism, you have most unluckily ventured to challenge a comparison. Methodism is about one century old. The minutes of the Conference for the present year give the number of members in Great Britain 249,278. Hearken, *in one fourth of the time of the existence of Methodism the Christians have made nearly as many converts.* This is a plain case, consisting of plain facts—think thereon.

Still the objector asks, Where are your missionaries? Will he be pleased to remember that the revival of Unitarianism stretches back not yet one century. Many have thought it best to consolidate our institutions at home before we extended our exertions abroad: especially, good, Sir, as you and your associates were acting as our pioneers. Something more, however, might have been done if orthodox extravagance and orthodox bigotry had not alienated from the missionary enterprize many persons whose minds were sober as well as zealous. It scarcely appears possible that the Unitarian body in this country, in their actual condition, could themselves have either originated or maintained a mission to any Heathen country except to India, where something might be done with diminutive resources. What we could not do by ourselves, you would not let us do together with you. All connexion with us you abjure, and then reproach us for inaction. More than this you have done. What word bad enough for a Unitarian? Was

it likely that men so reviled as we have been, could feel a strong sympathy with the chief objects of your pursuit? It is not in human nature to say in sincerity, while the sense of injury is yet fresh,

“Fair Sir, you spit on me on Wednesday last,
You spurned me such a day: another time
You called me, dog; and for these courtesies
I'll lend you thus much monies.”

Let it not be thought that we return malice for outrage. We heartily forgive, as we hope to be forgiven, all the calumnies we have had and have to bear. Yet it is difficult to kiss the hand that covers us with mud. And time is needed to allow the sense of injury to abate ere we can look with such complacency on the deeds of that hand as to be led to go and imitate its actions. Yes, the orthodox have created the impediment, and then they taunt us with its natural result. It is our duty, we know, to disregard the accidental circumstances which prejudice a good object. Still large masses are not changed in a day. We have begun to think less of orthodox excesses and orthodox revilings, and more of our duty as men and Christians in reference to the Heathen, and the process will, we doubt not, proceed with rapidity in spite of the obstructions which men of like spirit with the Reviewer are casting in our way. Meanwhile something has been done as opportunity offered. But, says the Reviewer with a sneer, “You *had* Mr. Adam in India.” Yes, and who *had* him before the Unitarians? At all events, he has not returned to the orthodoxy which, on mature inquiry, he relinquished as worthless. The memory of the writer is, we fear, not so good as his imagination, otherwise he might have said little about our failure, since the chapter of “relinquished missions” is with his party rather a long one, and the list of real converts made with all the machinery Trinitarianism wields in British India would occupy but a few minutes to read down. “The Unitarians *have* William Roberts at Madras.” What a brother Trinitarian had dishonestly concealed, the Reviewer records with a sneer, apologizing at the same time by an indirect phrase for that brother’s dishonesty on the ground of its being only a little wrong. And yet they are all “honourable men.” Well, thank Heaven, it is granted (never mind the sneer) that we *have* William Roberts. Can the Reviewer adduce an instance of greater zeal and integrity than the said William Roberts? And what if this humble yet pious man succeeded in making, during the first thirteen years of his labours, as many *unrelapsed* converts as were made by all the missionaries of all other denominations in British India together during their first thirteen years? Or can the orthodox in all their sphere of operations find an instance of greater disinterestedness than is exhibited by Chiniab, a convert of the obnoxious William Roberts, who, at his own expense, though a poor man, has built a place of worship, and devotes one-half of his weekly earnings to the support of a school-master? The assailant will, perhaps, when again he prepares himself to bespatter the Unitarians, bear in mind that it is not the custom among our body, whatever it is among his own, to display every act of charity, devotion, disinterestedness, and zeal, before the eyes of the world. Their beneficence, they think, is not the worse because operating in private and unseen even by the eye of the Trinitarian. If a man has a bad cause to maintain, the finest special pleading will not save him from embarrassment. To the instances of this assertion already given, let the following be added: Calvinism dates from the Reformation; what is the date of the beginning of its missionary labours? Thrice did Calvinists measure over the space of time which Uni-

tarians have passed ere they betook themselves to the missionary enterprize. Yes, thrice ; and yet these are the men who, in the very teeth of their own neglect, have the effrontery to reproach their betters. Their betters we say, for we began our missionary labours at the year of our mortal life fifty, and they delayed till they were all but in the tomb. And if the smallness of our labours at the age of fifty shews the "impotency" of our system, pray what does the entire absence of missionary exertions for centuries say of the assumed almightiness of theirs ? When we have lived "in health and wealth" so long as they, we doubt not that they will wish to decline a comparison with us.

But the poor will not hear, much less adopt the sentiments of Unitarians. Stale and oft-refuted calumny. Why, what is one-half of our congregations in these kingdoms ? True, many there are among us possessed of varied and extensive learning, many distinguished for their professional skill. Is a system the worse for commanding the homage of men of refined and powerful minds ? But at least one-half of the members of our body are of the people, not ignorant, indeed, because to become a Unitarian implies an inquiring and thinking mind, still of the people, better informed we know than the same class of Trinitarians, but better informed solely because possessors of a better creed, because encouraged to exercise not prostrate the intellect. Out of the English Unitarian societies, instances of congregations consisting all but exclusively of the poorer class might be easily adduced. What is the recently-formed congregation at Welburn, near York, but a body of labourers ? What the congregation and their preachers at Padiham, in Lancashire, but weavers of the poorest class earning at this very moment not more than six shillings per week, yet supported by and rejoicing in the pure word of the gospel ? What the whole connexion of Methodist Unitarians in the same neighbourhood, but people of the same class, preachers but little above, and spirit equally devout ? In Devonport, who originated the newly-formed society ? Of what class does that society consist, but men who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow ?—men whose estimate of the worth of their tenets this fact may exhibit, that pressed with labour as they were, they completed no inconsiderable part of the structure of their chapel with their own hands and in the time usually given to rest.

Want of room alone precludes the mention of other instances found in this kingdom. Here are societies of the poor, large and increasing, recently formed, and in part gathered from the world, holding the pure faith of the gospel in joy, and bringing forth the fruits of righteousness ; how, then, can it be affirmed that Unitarian Christianity is unsuited to the poor ? Does Dr. Tuckerman, in his mission to the poor and the outcast of Boston, find it so ? Oh no ! He finds it welcomed as a blessing, and powerful to the reformation of the life and the salvation of the soul. Do "the Christians" find it so ? Certainly not ; witness the fact of one thousand churches established without the aid of learning, and supported without the aid of riches, among that very class who are falsely said to reject Unitarianism with "contempt."

The several triumphs we have now recorded, whether at home or abroad, have, we iterate, been gathered within the space of one century. In so short a time has this much misunderstood and much misrepresented Unitarianism found its way to the hearts of myriads. And what has it placed there—"gloom and despondency" ? No ! peace and joy. It has given freedom from the galling chains of Calvinism. It has rid the soul of doubts engendered by orthodox absurdities. It has made religion a power instead of a

form. It has saved the mind from madness, to the brink of which impious views of God's government had hurried it. It has stayed the progress of unbelief, and guided back the wanderer to the fold of Christ. The sinful it has regenerated; the weak it has made strong; light has it given to the ignorant, and solace to the dying. Hundreds it has first emancipated, then enriched, redeemed from spiritual bondage into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, translated them out of darkness into marvellous light, and raised in the soul an edifice, complete and well-proportioned, which orthodoxy may envy but cannot surpass, and which will stand acknowledged when the rickety structures of fanaticism and credulity will fall into a thousand pieces. Yes, in eternity as well as in time Unitarian Christianity is a blessing to the soul. Notwithstanding the silly jesting and idle malice of our alarmed assailant Unitarian Christianity is a mine of spiritual treasure. We who feel something of its efficacy know its worth. Would to God that all which it is capable to effect were realized in our own bosom, and that of all our fellow-believers. But we know enough to be assured that he ought to blush the deepest crimson who has had the effrontery to speak of it as the Reviewer has done. Knew he not that he was writing what would outrage the feelings of hundreds, not worse Christians at least than himself? And did he think that he was recommending orthodoxy in the spirit which he has displayed? Is it to be what he exhibits himself that he wishes to convert us?

We will remain as we are. Preferable, ten thousand times preferable, his spirit who, how unlike the Reviewer, acknowledges the good while he reproves the bad! O! the perversion of that man's mind who has an eye for defects only, who cultivates the ability of setting them forth in the most grotesque and disgusting forms, and who seeks effect, *per fas atque nefas*, by heaping extravagance on extravagance, and culling all the superlatives of the dictionary. And yet this is he who has undertaken to operate a conversion on Unitarians—he has mistaken his calling. Why, if his descriptions be not the grossest caricatures, Unitarians are fools as well as heretics, and their system the merest dregs, (we beg pardon of the Reviewer's style, "feculence," we should have said,) the merest "feculence" of fatuity, and the wasting pestilence of religious delusion. But his readers will compare his outrages with their knowledge, the caricature in the book with the reality in the world, and wish the painter more wit or less forwardness. It is not likely that Englishmen will believe this extravagance of persons who are the pride and glory of the English name, the great lights of the English nation, and their works the models of the English tongue. For they well remember, if he has forgotten, that this much calumniated Unitarianism quickened and enriched the mind of Milton; was the friend of his bosom who wrote the immortal essay on the human understanding; and gave strength and support to his intellect who penetrated the heavens, and disclosed by one effort secrets which centuries had sought to know in vain. What, too, inspired the devout and thrilling strains of Barbauld, but this much calumniated Unitarianism? And what prompted the sacrifices of a Lindsey, but this much calumniated Unitarianism? And what sustained the intellect and heart of Priestley under labours the most multifarious and burdensome, and assaults the most unrelenting, and persecution the most virulent, but this much calumniated Unitarianism? And what is the religion of him of the silver tongue, the expanded soul, the lofty mind, him whose words pierce, and thrill, and quicken, what is the religion of Channing, but Unitarianism, glorious Unitarianism? The opponent has overshot his mark.

Sublimity easily becomes bombast. Abuse, if not well managed, turns out eulogy. A stone, which might have crushed an opponent, if thrown too violently, rebounds and wounds the assailant.

Before parting, we have a word or two more to say to him on the subject of numbers. Here he imagines, we know, that he has an invincible argument against us. First, we say, wait but for a few years; let us have been in being, free from your persecutions, but a fourth of the time you Calvinists have lived, and flourished, and decayed, and we will then go to the poll with you, and you may register, if you will, all, whatever their sentiments, who go under the wide-sheltering, because undefined and undefinable name of Trinitarians. "Thou shalt see me at Philippi," said his evil genius to Brutus, a short time before the fatal conflict. At the end of a quarter of a century I give thee the meeting, says the Watchman to the Reviewer. Then we will cast up accounts and strike the balance. And then it will be seen that men have done with the Trinity as they have already done with the five points of Calvinism, and other fictions of the dark ages. Already the name of the Trinity excites a smile on the countenance of the intelligent, and men are not now ridding themselves of king-craft and priest-craft, and a hundred other delusions, are not resuming the use of their faculties, and chasing from their bosom the powers by which they have for centuries been held in bondage, to retain the belief that three Gods make but one God, and that two natures make but one person. Trinitarianism totters to its very base. Propped up, as it is by a thousand shores, it may yet remain awhile. But one by one these supports are falling away; truth is as incessantly acquiring strength, and, ere long, the strong outcry of regenerated reason will bring its towers with sudden ruin to the ground, as the blowing of the rams' horns levelled of old the walls of Jericho. But to speak yet more of numbers as they are. What, we ask, is the number of real Calvinists in this kingdom? Once, we know, they constituted the majority. But what a falling off has taken place! And yet, in this the day of his weakness, a Calvinist is rash enough to provoke a comparison as to numbers. We venture to promise, in a fair poll, many more Unitarians than Calvinists. And notice the difference, as men have grown wise, Calvinism has fallen away, Unitarianism increased. The thousand is become a little one, and the little one a great nation. *Io triumphe*—human nature against the divinity of the schools; reason against absurdity; the Bible against the Catechism; the result is cheering; the issue will be glorious. But the Trinity, we spoke of the Trinity and not of Calvinism, when we taunted you with the smallness of your Zion. To the assailant we reply, *quid pro quo*, we spoke of Calvinism and not of the Trinity when we hurled back the weapon of your assault. But to the Trinity, then, if so you will it. As an offset we take the doctrine of the future judgment, and will outnumber you. Though, as Trinitarians, you are a majority, yet, be it remembered, a majority is not the whole. But we, as believers in a future judgment, are not of a part but the entire total. In this we have on our side every believer in the Gospel. Why, then, is not our tenet as good as yours? Which is the more clearly taught in the Scriptures; aye, which? To this one prime doctrine of the gospel easy would it be to add others in which all Christians agree with us. But then, says the objector, you differ from the majority in the Trinity. And you, we reply, in Calvinism. Let the one disagreement balance the other.

In listening to the gorgeous declamation of the Reviewer, the reader would be sometimes led to think that the whole of this "country" was "religionized," so triumphantly does he revel in the success of the preaching of

Trinitarianism. But some way or other he has let slip the awkward fact that "the mass" are not religious, and that the "religious" portion of the whole is but a "*small minority*." And yet so much machinery has been employed, employed for centuries, aided by eloquence like our friend's, and by bribes, such as those of the Establishment. Still, after all, Trinitarianism is held only by "a small minority." We say Trinitarianism, for we suppose the faith of the "irreligious" the Reviewer values at little more than it deserves. Well, then, out of this "small minority" how many are there agreed in their sentiments? A handful, if perchance so many. No, not a handful of thinking men will be found to explain the boasted contradiction of the Trinity in the same manner. They all, all "the small minority," or at least most of "the small minority" will adopt the same words. But from words we must go to ideas, if we wish to estimate the number of adherents of which a creed may boast. Otherwise the sapient race of parrots might be taken in to swell the numbers of a sect. Advancing, then, from the representation to the represented, from the word to the thing, we find diversities almost endless, and we are prevented from learning what, out of this "small minority," is the number of real Trinitarians, by the insuperable difficulty we find of ascertaining what in fact Trinitarianism is. Against this faithful band, however small, however large, out of this "small minority," place the Unitarian body, agreeing, without a shade of difference, in the simple and unvarnished teaching of the Bible that God is one, and who then will have the argument of numbers? The majority will stand on our side, and Trinitarianism will be condemned by the judge of its own choice, and slain by the object of its fondest endearments. We say *its* choice, for Unitarians have learnt a better logic than to cast up caps in order to determine what is true.

The taunt of small numbers comes with a bad grace from those who have been our persecutors. From the days of the Eighth Henry to those of the Third George, Trinitarians have followed Unitarians with persecution. Not a reign passed by but some worthies suffered pains and penalties, more or less grievous, at the hands of Trinitarians. We wrote books; the hangman disposed of the arguments in the summary way to which he was aforesaid accustomed. We preached what we thought the gospel taught; the reply which Trinitarians made was banishment, incarceration, the loss of life, or limb, or property. Every impediment which bigotry could devise or force employ was thrown in our way. Yet the system could not be annihilated. In its own vital power and elasticity it rose again after every fall, and the moment that its persecutors were, by the spirit of the times, obliged to relax their persecution, it appeared in strength, even in the ranks of Trinitarians, and through much and bitter opposition has waxed stronger day by day till the present hour. And still the persecution rages, not in deeds of force, but words of malice. The fair encounter of argument with argument is shunned; and sneers, and scoffs, and revilings are spread throughout the land. We venture to say, that for one argument used against the Unitarians for the last twenty years, we may find a thousand misrepresentations. The war has been carried on by Trinitarians with poisoned weapons. They are afraid of an open field and fair play, else why blacken instead of refute? The fears and prejudices of men it suits them better to work on than to appeal to their intellect. There is a misgiving in their hearts when they think of the fair encounter of reason, and the impartial appeal to the Bible. Their faith grew up in the days of darkness, and they, therefore, fear the light. Will the Reviewer give a satisfactory contradiction to these asser-

tions? Let him listen. And he that hath ears to hear let him hear. Here we are, the Reviewer and the Watchman, man to man. I challenge him to discuss the question of the unity and supremacy of the Father of the universe, or that of the faith of the primitive Christians, unaided on either side, and at a distance from the armoury of hard words. The arena shall be, if he pleases, the Eclectic Review; or if, as we know is the case with other Trinitarian organs, that publication chooses to have all the say on its own side, he shall have free scope and fair play in the pages of the Monthly Repository. There is my glove. Dare you take it up? If not, the less you say about "refuted and defeated Socinianism," the more will you consult your own credit and the welfare of your system. Meanwhile, let us remark, that such as we have now described is the way in which Unitarianism has been opposed by its enemies. They have called on the magistrate to hale us to prison, and then sang a jubilate on the invincibility of their arguments. They have filled the public mind with the most frightful notions of us and our views, and then triumphantly asked, Where are your converts? They have maimed us, and bid us walk; they have bound us in chains, and reproached us with inactivity; they have hedged us in on all sides, and laughed at the expansiveness of our system. And to the present moment they raise a hue and cry against us, and yet affirm that there are no "argumentative obstructions" in our way. No! we know there are no *real* "argumentative obstructions" in opposition to our cause. The Bible is on our side; reason determines in our favour. But there is that against us which makes argument vain, and causes the Bible to be to the people a sealed book. Invective and calumny plentifully scattered by those who have the public ear, spread over the community by a thousand channels, indispose the mind to hear, or unfit it to determine. Here are our obstructions, and obstructions they are of the use of which the Trinitarian ought to be inexpressibly ashamed. Instead of which he adds insult to injury, and glories in the results of his own misdeeds. We are content, however, to forgive him all the injuries which he has done us in the past, provided he promise not to break the peace in future. And the rather are we disposed to be placable, because we feel that, however unintended, the compliment which is thus paid to the goodness of our cause is of high value. Men do not persecute persons when they can confute arguments. And Trinitarians would not have incurred the obloquy of persecuting Unitarians, had they not felt they had no other arguments of strength enough to put the obnoxious heresy down. Thus evil cannot be done but good in some way ensues. We take the acknowledgment of the strength of our cause, thus unintentionally given, and deem it not necessary to thank the donor. In the charges we have brought against Trinitarians, we beg to be understood to speak not of all who are thus called, but only those who are (or have been) distinguished by eminent station, and disgrace that station by bigotry and intolerance. The worst things are often found at top.

The construction of the article which has been the immediate occasion of these remarks has struck us as somewhat singular. The point which the writer, from beginning to end, labours to establish is, that Unitarian ministers are "miserable" and "wretched." To what end is this peculiar turn given to the attack? Is it found that the Unitarian pulpits are likely to be again supplied with ministers of orthodox education? Have the young men in any of the Trinitarian seminaries preferred the Bible to the creed, and sense to absurdity? Such things are within the recollection of the Reviewer, and the consequence is, that many now preach the pure faith of the gospel,

who were destined to be the advocates of its corruptions. If among these seminaries there should be any who have added to the alarm with which the heart of our assailant is smitten, we exhort them to deal fairly with evidence, to pursue intrepidly their inquiries, to avow honestly their convictions, and leave the result with God. The good man can never be unhappy. The consciousness of religious integrity is a well of satisfaction to the soul. Pitiful sentiment is that of your self-elected guardian; "A man is happy who is thought to be so." Even a Heathen poet teaches a better morality in an ode which he would do well to study:

Integer vitæ scelerisque purus.

You need not, however, be alarmed by the worldly consequences which may ensue from publicly renouncing what you may privately reject. The pictures of the Trinitarian terrorist are the creations of his own affrighted imagination.

There can be little doubt that whatever may be the design of the peculiar construction of the article, the composition of it was chiefly induced by a desire to affect the determination of a certain question recently thrust into a court of equity. The desire, we doubt not, will prove as futile as it is fatuous. It will meet the fate which is ever well deserved, when calumny is sent forth to prepare the way for plunder.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

THEOLOGY.

ART. I.—*Peace in Division; or the Duties of Christians in an Age of Controversy: a Discourse, preached July 7th, 1830, in the Prince's-Street Meeting-House, Cork, before the Synod of Munster, or Southern Presbyterian Association of Ireland.* By James Martineau. Dublin: Hodges and Smith; London: R. Hunter. 12mo. pp 24. 1830.

THE title of this sermon is supplementary to the text (Luke xii. 51); for while the one describes a message of peace as giving rise to discord, the other indicates the generation out of that very discord of the noblest peace. And it is the fact that, by a process not uncommon in the Divine government, the evil which seemed destructive of the original good to which it was incidental, finally realizes that good in a higher degree. Such is our author's view of the tendency of sectarian divisions:

"It would be easy to shew that the distribution of the Christian world into sects has achieved incalculably more good than it has inflicted injury;—that the rudest conflicts of a militant theology are preferable to the hollow peace of universal thralldom;—that the fluctuating surface of human opinion, with all its restless lights, is a fairer object than its dark and leaden stagnation;—that discussion multiplies the chances of truth, diffuses the thirst for knowledge, leads forth reason from the mist, converts prejudice into conviction, and gives to a dead faith a moral and operative power. It would be easy to shew that our religion, especially since it has issued from the cloister into the light of day, has accomplished a vast amount of good, with which no controversy has been able to interfere; that it has imparted nobler sentiments of duty, given to conscience a more majestic voice, raised the depressed portions of society; that it has enabled moral refinement to keep pace with the

intellectual advancement of mankind; that it has given modesty to the sublimest exercise of reason, by erecting towering and eternal truths beyond whose shadow reason cannot fly. It would be easy to anticipate the time when the benign principles of Christianity shall mellow down the ruggedness of party feeling, and extract the lingering selfishness that poisons discussion with its bitterness; when the unrestricted and disinterested love of truth shall no longer be an empty fiction; when the differences between mind and mind will be but so many converging paths by which mankind, with one heart and one speed, hasten to the same goal of certainty."—Pp. 4, 5.

But in awaiting and, if we can, accelerating this happy period, it is incumbent on us to ascertain, practise, and enforce the duties which belong to an "age of doctrinal debate;" and this is the main object of the sermon before us, a sermon which well displays, in the catholic spirit by which it is animated, the disposition which it inculcates. The delineation of these duties is comprised by the author in three particulars: "1, It is the duty of Christians to remember how many are their points of union"—"2, amid all our controversies it is of moment that we should remember the moral innocence of mental error"—"3, It is the duty of every Christian in an age of controversy to make an open, undisguised statement of his opinions, and of the evidence which satisfies him of their truth."

The portion of this sermon with which we are least satisfied is the second division. By conceding the application of the penalty in Mark xvi. 16, to the case of a modern unbeliever, and "the destinies of a future world," Mr. Martineau has, we think, materially injured his argument. The bigot will always identify the heretic with the unbeliever. The popular faith invariably claims, not to be derived from, but to be, the Christianity of the apostles. The Calvinist will never concede that "the gospel itself, considered as a revelation, bears the same relation to all the rival creeds whose credit hangs on its authority." He can only be led to that point over the ruins of his theological system. In his view the gospel *implies* the total depravity and eternal condemnation of the human race, and *consists of* the proclamation of an atoning sacrifice to procure pardon and heaven from Divine Justice. This notion, to him, is the fountain itself of sacred truth; not a

particular stream flowing from it in common with other streams. His exclusiveness can only be demolished by one of two methods; by disproving his creed, or by shewing that even unbelief itself, considered as a mental act, is not subject to future punishment. The discussion turns very much upon the meaning of the term *faith* in the New Testament. As connected with future reward and punishment, we apprehend that it never designates belief in the modern sense, the reception by the understanding of any proposition or set of propositions. It is very rarely found in that connexion; and when it is, it designates a moral quality, confidence in God, and is nearly, if not altogether, equivalent to piety.

The rest of this discourse not only commands our unqualified approval, but frequently excites our admiration. It makes our hearts glow with a delightful hope of the good to be accomplished by its author in the future years of his ministerial labours, which we pray may be very many. It is evidently not a laboured composition, but it indicates qualities of mind and heart which are a rich promise for futurity. Such are the men whom the cause of truth requires for defence, for ornament, and for conquest. May Providence send more of them into the vineyard. May they all, like our author, discern and avoid the mistake which many very good, but very timid, men have committed. That he knows his work and appreciates his reward is evident from the spirited and beautiful passage with which the sermon concludes.

"The alarmed reconciler of inconsistencies may seem for a while to be successful; he may keep together in temporary harmony those dissimilar elements which more fearless spirits might separate; he may persuade men that they agree when they are wide as the poles asunder; he may surround himself by numbers, and multiply the directions in which his immediate influence extends. On the other hand, the reformer who cannot conceal, and who dare not pretend, who interprets most strictly the law of Christian simplicity, may lose many supporters who ought to stand by him in the hour of trial; he may be looked on with suspicion and avoided as dangerous; he may be the centre at which a thousand weapons are directed; he may seem to have been imprudent and premature, and to have baffled his own cause by his indiscreet openness; he may go down to the evening termination of his labours, accompanied only

by a faithful few, and cheered by no multitude of approving voices. But wait till a generation has passed away, and then come and look into the field occupied by these two labourers. Then you will find it proved that numbers are not always strength; when gathered together by the feeble bond of private influence, they are scattered when that influence is withdrawn. The timid man has left no permanent trace behind him; he has inspired no courage, provided no security for the future, and the grass has grown over the road that leads to his temple. But the man who has not feared to tell the whole truth, is remembered and appealed to by succeeding generations; his name, pronounced in his life time with reproach, becomes a familiar term of encouragement; his thoughts, his spirit, long survive him, gather together new and more powerful advocates, and are associated with the records of imperishable truth.

“Finally, the great evil of this disposition is, that it constrains the natural action of the mind, and produces a weak vacillation of character which paralyzes every virtuous energy. The grand secret of human power, my friends, is singleness of purpose: before it perils, opposition, and difficulty melt away, and open out a certain pathway to success. But, alas! brethren, our Christianity has not taken from us the spirit of fear, and given us in its place the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind. We still put duty to the vote. We shrink from being singular, even in excellence, forgetting how many things are customs in heaven which are eccentricities on earth. We fix our eye, now on the tempting treasures below, then on the half-veiled glories above: we open our ears, now to the welcome tones of human praise, then to the accents of God’s approving voice: and in the vain attempt to reconcile opposing claims, we sacrifice our interest in both worlds. It is melancholy to think what a waste of human activity has been occasioned by this weakness; how many purposes which, if concentrated, might have left deep traces of good, have been applied in opposite directions; how many well-meaning men have laid a benumbing hand of timidity on their own good deeds, and passed through life without leaving one permanent impression of their character on society. It is not want of an ample sphere, it is not poverty of means, it is not mediocrity of talent, that makes most men so inefficient in the world; it is want of single-

ness of aim. Let them keep a steady eye fixed on the great ends of existence; let them bear straight onwards, never stepping aside to consult the deceitful oracle of human opinion; let them heed no spectators save that heavenly cloud of witnesses that stand gazing from above; let them go forth into the struggles of life armed with the assurance ‘Fear not, for I am with you;’ and each man will be equal to a thousand; all will give way before him; he will scatter renovating principles of moral health; he will draw forth from a multitude of other minds a mighty mass of kindred and once latent energy; and having imparted to others ennobled conceptions of the purposes of life, will enter the unfolded gates of immortality, breathing already its spirit of sublimity and joy. Brethren, ‘how long shall we halt between two opinions?’—Pp. 21—24.

ART. II.—*A Letter to the Rev. Gavin Struthers, of Anderston, on his refusal to meet Mr. Harris at a Funeral: with additional Remarks, addressed to the Inhabitants of Glasgow.* By George Harris. Glasgow: Hedderwick. 12mo. pp. 12. 1830.

THE following is Mr. Harris’s statement of the occasion of this letter and of its publication: “A member of my congregation, of industrious habits and of unblemished character, after a long illness, during which I often visited him, and had occasion to see and to admire the calm and Christian resignation with which he bore his sufferings, was called away in the hope of a better world, through the death and resurrection of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. His widow, who is or was, I understand, a member of your congregation, or, at any rate, professing similar religious opinions with yourself, invited you to attend and take part in the funeral. On the letter being left at your house, you asked the man who carried it, if Mr. Harris had visited Mr. Gillies during his sickness? The reply was, Several times. You then inquired, if Mr. Harris would be at the funeral? The answer was in the affirmative. You then said, ‘I cannot attend, I cannot say Amen to his prayers.’ The man suggested that as a great many individuals had been invited to the funeral, you would probably be in a different room, and perhaps in a different house from that in which Mr. Harris would be placed. After hesitating a short time, you declared you could not

attend the funeral with Mr. Harris."—Pp. 3, 4.

"The preceding letter was sent to the residence of Mr. Struthers, on Monday the 6th September. The author has waited anxiously for an answer, that if wrong he might correct the impression which has gone abroad, that if right he might make his appeal to the candour, to the justice of the public. Ten days have since elapsed, and no reply has been given. He therefore conceives himself justified in concluding, that the statements of his letter cannot be gainsayed. Perhaps he was wrong in expecting any notice would be taken of his remonstrance. The individual who could violate the benevolence of a Christian, was not very likely to manifest the courtesy of a gentleman. But still he did hope, that some misinformation had been communicated to him, or that Mr. Struthers might have acted from the momentary impulse of feelings, which subsequent reflection would convince him were unmanly and uncharitable. He has been disappointed in both expectations, and has now no other alternative, but to submit the matter to the judgment of the unprejudiced inhabitants of this city."—P. 7.

The author's expostulation is in a manly and Christian spirit; it is at once touching, impressive, and dignified; and from the large local circulation which this letter has already obtained we would hope that if the bigotry which prompted such unhappily not unprecedented conduct cannot be brought to contrition by private remonstrance, it may yet be put to shame by public reprobation.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

ART. III.—*Utility of Latin Discussed.* By Justin Brennan. Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange.

THIS is a very pretty little book; and, like many other little things we know, good as well as pretty. Its very covers would sell it: so neat, and yet so tasteful! After all, there is more in a good exterior than the world is disposed to allow. But to business.

Mr. Brennan would have all boys, aye, and girls too, taught, not *crammed* with, Latin. He reprobates the idea that those only who are intended for certain professions need to learn Latin. He would have all know something, though but the rudiments of the language: for with him "A little learning is" *not* "a dangerous thing;" and if he could not

drink deep, he would at least "taste the Pierian spring." In all this we agree with him; but we do not go with him in his apprehensions of the extinction of the English language, still less in his amusing recommendation of the translating of Shakspeare, Milton, and Dryden, into Latin, simply as a means of preserving them, and because in his opinion, they will not keep without some such *foreign* preservative.

ART. V.—*Composition and Punctuation familiarly Explained, for those who have neglected the Study of Grammar.* By Justin Brennan. Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange.

A VERY useful subject, cleverly treated. The author's object is to shew, and we think he does shew, "that a man of middling capacity may, with a very small share of judgment, acquire a knowledge of punctuation, equal to all the purposes of ordinary composition." We have no space for long extracts. But surely the author is a little inconsistent in his enthusiastic praises of Cobbett's Grammar, as Mr. C. is not only no Latin scholar himself, but has, on various occasions, expressed his supreme contempt for those who are. It is possible, therefore, for a person ignorant of the classics to be a good English scholar, a fact rather at variance with the tenor of the little work we have just been noticing, "the Utility of Latin discussed." We do not know that Mr. Cobbett would have been the worse for learning Latin, but it is pretty clear that his English would not have been the better for it; unless, indeed, it had softened down his style, and otherwise improved his general manners. That we own would have been a great blessing, for the attainment of which we should heartily join Mr. Brennan in his encomiums on the Latin as an improver of the English tongue.

ART. VI.—*An Introduction to Greek Grammar, on a new Plan; for the use of Schools and Private Students.* By Thomas Foster Barham, M.B., late of Queen's College, Cambridge. Hunter, London. Pp. 150.

THE qualities essential to a good grammar seem to be accuracy, clearness, completeness, and (for school purposes at least) brevity; and to produce a work of this description on so difficult and multifarious a language as the Greek, is

no easy task. We commend this little book of Dr. Barham's to the attention of all whom it may concern, as a judicious, and, in many respects, a successful endeavour to supply the student with such a work. It well deserves, in our opinion, to take its place by the side of the recent Greek and English Dictionaries, and other rational helps to scholarship, with which the boldness and good sense of modern times have furnished us. The chief peculiarity of the Grammar consists in its omitting from the regular form of the verb several tenses which have heretofore been arranged as essential parts of it, though, as the author justly maintains, after Matthiæ and others, "they are mere redundancies or duplicates of formation, occurring only in a few particular verbs." The model of a Greek verb, which the young learner has to commit to memory, is thus shortened and simplified, by the omission of no less than *seven tenses*, which are made

to take their proper place as irregularities of dialect, to be explained by the teacher when they actually occur in reading; and this is far less frequently than a person subject to the prejudices created by the old arrangement may be likely to suppose. A similar liberty is taken with what are called the *voices* of the Greek verb, the two tenses of the *middle voice* being included in the *passive*. The dual number is also omitted from the models for the declension of nouns; being, as the author alleges, seldom used, and then optionally, instead of the plural. For the defence of these departures from the common systems, we must refer our readers to Dr. Barham's able and ingenious preface. But independently of these peculiarities of this "Introduction to Greek Grammar," we think its general merits for neatness and perspicuity of method, and clearness of expression, especially in the syntax, entitle it to a favourable reception.

ART. IV.—*The Substance of a Course of Lectures on British Colonial Slavery.*
By the Rev. Benjamin Godwin. Arch, Cornhill.

ARE our readers aware of the numerical force of the Slaves in the British Colonies? If not, let them peruse the following table.

<i>Chartered Colonies.</i>	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>	<i>Free Blacks.</i>
Bermuda.....	5,500	4,650	500
Bahamas.....	4,000	9,500	2,800
Jamaica	15,000	331,000	40,000
Virgin Isles, or Tortola .	800	5,400	607
St. Christopher's	1,800	19,500	2,500
Nevis	800	9,000	1,800
Antigua	2,000	30,000	4,500
Mont Serrat	500	6,000	700
Dominica	800	14,500	3,600
Barbadoes	15,000	81,000	5,000
St. Vincent's	1,300	23,500	2,900
Grenada	800	24,500	3,700
Tobago	350	12,700	1,200
<i>Crown Colonies.</i>			
St. Lucia....	1,100	13,500	4,000
Trinidad.....	3,500	23,000	16,000
Honduras	300	2,450	2,800
Demerara	3,000	70,000	6,000
Berbice	600	21,000	1,000
Cape of Good Hope	43,000	35,500	29,000
Mauritius	8,000	76,000	15,100
	108,150	812,700	143,707

These Lectures deserve our approval, which we should express more at length, but that the subject of Negro Slavery has been already brought under notice in our present number.

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE.

On the "Retrospective Faculty."

To the Editor.

SIR,

AFTER reading, in a late number of the Monthly Repository, an article entitled, "Essay on the proper Use of the Retrospective Faculty," I feel desirous of offering a few animadversions on some passages which it contains, and which appear to me, either incorrect, or, at least, so expressed as to give them the appearance of incorrectness.

The writer of the Essay has chosen as a text, the fine and animating words of St. Paul, "Forgetting the things which are behind." In order to form a correct judgment of the application of these words, we should examine them in their connexion—"Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." It appears clear to my mind, that the Apostle had here simply in view the progress towards Christian perfection, and that by the expression, "Forgetting those things which are behind," he meant to say, forgetting, or not dwelling on former attainments in holiness; not resting satisfied with that state to which we have already attained, but endeavouring after still more exalted degrees of virtue and piety; nor does it appear that he intended to make the least reference to remorse for past offences: on the contrary, we find him in another place, reflecting on his past transgressions with what has always appeared to me a degree of bitterness of feeling. "I who am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of Christ." Though he immediately turns the painful reflection to one of holy rejoicing, by adding those animated words, "But by the grace of God I am what I am; and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain."

The present age, in England at least, may well be named the age of *utility*,

in mechanics, philosophy, and morals. Now, it is far from being my wish to decry any thing so proper, necessary, and, in short, *useful*, as this same utility, when I assert that it is possible, in a certain sense, to carry our love of it to an excess. There is such a thing in morality as the *beautiful*, as well as the *useful*; and these two will at length be found to coincide, though at present their connexion may not always be evident to our blinded and limited view. Yet even now, we have the Scriptures for our guide, "a light shining in a dark place, till the day dawn, and the day-spring arise in our hearts." Where, then, in the Scriptures, shall we find the notion, that no shame or sorrow for sin should be indulged, except precisely the quantity necessary or useful to the future progress of the sinner? How shall the offender presume to say, while lying low in contrition before the Divine Majesty, "Just so much sorrow and no more, is useful to me?" If he possesses a heart that is not entirely of stone, how can he, at such a season, be thinking of his own advantage, and weighing utility in the balance? Do we find that David did so, when in the fifty-first Psalm, he so pathetically laments his transgressions? or the woman who was a sinner, when she washed our Saviour's feet with her tears, were those tears poured out by measure, or were Peter's, when he went out and wept bitterly? In short, though the depth or violence of sorrow is in itself no test of repentance, (that test consists in newness of life alone,) yet such sorrow is a beautiful and graceful appendage to repentance, and is no doubt acceptable to that Being who dwells with him that is of a humble and contrite spirit.

Bitter regret and shame, for our past offences, should be cherished or discouraged, according to the various dispositions of different individuals. There are, indeed, some persons naturally subject to depression, or wanting in that elasticity which is the happy portion of others. Such minds mourn, and refuse to be comforted, till they are weakened by a criminal despondency. To these we would indeed say, "Forget the things which are behind;" "arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light." They have need to dwell on all that is

animating in the gospel promises : and, indeed, these are sufficiently abundant to cheer the most drooping spirits ; but unfortunately, the far greater proportion of mankind err on the contrary side ; they have very slight and superficial views of sin, and its " exceeding sinfulness ;" very little shame, or consciousness of the extent of their ingratitude towards their Almighty Benefactor ; and where the regret is so feeble and fleeting, their sense of the value of pardoning mercy will probably be equally so.

" It is universally allowed," says the Essay, " that means are valuable only as instrumental to an end ; and that they should, therefore, be discarded when the end is obtained ;" and it continues by stating that were such a maxim acted on, earth would become heaven ; that there would be no tyrants or slaves, or what is more to the purpose, no self-tormentors. This reminds us of a certain mathematician, who, after reading an interesting tale, remarked, " what does it prove ?" Did it never occur to the writer, that a little portion of the art of self-tormenting, however unnecessary it may seem in itself considered, is sometimes a very useful thing, considered with reference to peculiar classes of character ? How many persons are there, who see their virtues as through a magnifying, and their faults as through a diminishing, glass ; who, for want of moral delicacy, and of a habit of raising their views to an elevated standard of excellence, are continually laying the flattering unction to their souls, and who feel, in effect, the force of the saying, " They that are whole, need not a physician, but they that are sick !" Such persons require to be sick, at least sick at heart, before they can be made whole, and when sick of themselves, of their own vain hearts, and worldly thoughts, and feeble desires after virtue, how joyful will be to them the sound of pardon, and how beautiful the very feet of them that bring it !

It is, however, one of the privileges of a Christian, that his views of the divine dispensations tend to remove the bitterest pang even from his reflections on his past sins ; for the more he abases himself, the more he exalts the mercy of God ! the greater is his sense of his own unworthiness, the higher will be his grateful delight at the thought of the redemption through Christ ; and who is there that would not gladly submit to shame and humiliation that his Master might be glorified, and what feeling is so sweet as the consciousness that we are under an obligation which cannot be esti-

mated even by angels ? It even seems as if, in this respect, we were happier than angels ; for as they never offended, so they never received such cause for love and gratitude.

The concluding observations of the Essay, relative to a future state, appear to me very obscure and mystical ; and I shall not make any comments on them, but shall conclude by observing, that it will be readily admitted by all, that shame and sorrow will have no place where all shall be purified and perfect ; but such a remembrance of sin will, without doubt, exist, as will continually enhance the happiness and thankfulness of those who, from the high station to which mercy alone has exalted them, look back on the " pit whence they were digged." For as sin is the saddest and bitterest grief which a Christian knows, during his course towards heaven, so the remembrance that it is for ever past, will in proportion fill his soul with unceasing joy and gratitude.

Ovδεις.

Mahometan Devotion.

To the Editor.

SIR, *London, Oct. 4, 1830.*

A THREE MONTHS' absence from home prevented me from seeing, until very lately, your number for June, in which " A Christian Moslem" requests information relative to the stated religious services in the Mosques, and asks, " Whether the public service is any where amongst the followers of Mohamed conducted in an unintelligible language ?"

So far as I am able to learn, the service of the Mosques is every where conducted in the vernacular tongue, or at least in a language understood by the worshipers. An interesting account of this service is given by Tournefort, in the second volume, and second letter, of his very instructive " Voyage into the Levant." I transcribe from it a few extracts as likely to be satisfactory to your Moslem correspondent, and interesting to your readers in general.

" Of all false religions the Mahometan is the most dangerous, because it not only strongly flatters the senses, but in many points also agrees with Christianity. Mahometism is founded upon the knowledge of the true God, the Creator of all things, upon the love of one's neighbour, the purification of the body, and a quiet, peaceable life. It abhors idols, and the worship of them is strictly prohibited."

" They (the Mahometans) believe,

that their prayers will not be heard, unless they first resolve firmly to forgive their enemies. It is for this reason that they never let a Friday pass without making a hearty reconciliation; and hence it is, that we never hear of any detraction or injury among the Turks."

One of the prayers repeated daily in the Mosques is this:

"Praised be God, the Lord of the world, who is one God, full of goodness and mercy. Lord, who shalt judge all men, we worship thee, we place our whole trust in thee. Preserve us, who call upon thee, in the right way, which thou hast chosen, and dost favour with thy acceptance. It is not the way of the infidels, nor of those against whom thou art justly incensed."

When the Mahometans are travelling, the caravan stops at the proper hours, "every Mussulman spreads his carpet on the ground," and the daily prayers are said, "with the same attention and decency, as if they were in a Mosque."—"Nothing can be more exemplary than these exercises; and it has raised the utmost indignation in me against the Greeks, who commonly live like so many brutes."

"Beside the daily prayers I have mentioned, the Turks resort to the Mosques at midnight in Lent to make the following prayer:

"Lord God, who passest by our faults; thou, who alone oughtest to be loved and honoured; who art great and victorious; who orderest the night and the day; who pardonest our offences and cleanseest our hearts; who shewest mercy, and dispenseest thy benefits to thy servants: Adorable Lord, we have not honoured thee as thou oughtest to be honoured. Great God, who deservest that we should speak of nothing but thee, we have not spoken of thee so worthily as we ought. Great God, whom we ought to thank continually, we have not given thee sufficient thanks. Merciful God, all wisdom, all goodness, all virtue, come from thee: it is of thee we must seek forgiveness and mercy. There is no God but God. He is one only. He has no companion. Mahomet is the messenger of God. My God, let thy blessing be upon Mahomet, and upon the race of Mussulmans."

"There are no beggars to be seen in Turkey, because they take care to prevent the unfortunate from falling into such necessities."—"They are very careful to relieve persons who are bashfully ashamed of their poverty. How many families may one find, who have been ruined by fires and are restored by charities! They need only present them-

selves at the door of the Mosques.—They also go to their houses to comfort the afflicted. The diseased, and they who have the pestilence, are succoured by their neighbour's purse and the parish funds; for the Turks, as Leunclavius observes, set no bounds to their charities."

"This Emperor (Orchan) was the first who caused hospitals to be built for the poor and the pilgrims; he founded colleges, and endowed them, for the education of youth. There are few considerable Mosques, but have their hospitals and colleges. The poor, of whatever religion they are, are relieved in these hospitals."

"As charity and love of one's neighbour are the most essential points of the Mahometan religion, the highways are generally kept mighty well; and there are springs of water common enough, because they are wanted for making the ablutions. The poor look after the conduit pipes, and those who have a tolerable fortune repair the causeys."

Such, Mr. Editor, is the testimony of a most intelligent and competent observer to the charitable disposition, the steady patriotism, and religious sincerity of a people, respecting whom I have many times heard it maintained by Unitarian Christians, the friends of humanity and civilization, that they ought to be driven out of Europe.

I might confirm the testimony of Tournefort by a multitude of citations from other travellers. But to the Anti-Mahomedan zeal of my respected friends, who maintain this opinion, I shall simply oppose the advice given to an afflicted father by a minister, whose name is justly held among us in great veneration. The father, John Pitts, of Exeter, wrote a letter to his son, a sailor, who had been taken captive to Algiers, and induced to profess himself a believer in Mohamed. He gives the following account of his father's letter in his "Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans."

"The substance of the letter was as followeth, viz.:

"Yet I cannot choose but call thee dear and loving son, although thou hast denied thy Redeemer that bought thee; especially considering the tenderness of thy age, the cruelty of thy usage, and the strength of thy temptations. I confess, when I first heard of it, I thought it would have overwhelmed my spirits; and, had it not been for divine supporters, it had been a burden too unsupportable for my weak shoulders to have

crippled under; especially considering the loss of thy soul."

"But withal, my father in his letter comforted me with telling me, that he had been with several ministers, who unanimously concurred in their opinion, that I had not sinned the unpardonable sin. Their names were Mr. Hopping, Mr. Collings, and Mr. Hallet, who were ministers in Exeter. *The last advised my father to write to me.* Said my father, 'I shall write very smart, if I do.' The good man replied, '*By no means, but write as tenderly as possible; otherwise you will spoil all; and give him all the encouragement you can.*'"

It would be a satisfaction, Sir, to see the advocates of rational Christianity in the present day rising as superior to popular prejudices and antipathies against their fellow-creatures as their predecessors did a hundred years ago; and that the discussion of this subject in the Monthly Repository may contribute to this end is the wish of

JAMES YATES.

The Unitarians of Padiham.

To the Editor.

SIR,

THE case of these worthy people I have already laid before the public.* A correspondent, C. H. of Exeter, proposes that a subscription should be entered into in order to relieve them from the burthen of their ground-rent, and offers, in case of the necessary sums being raised, to give herself five pounds. I am encouraged by this handsome and voluntary promise to hope that an appeal to the Unitarian public will not prove useless. The amount needed is £170. There are already in the Manchester Savings' Bank £45 on account of the Padiham congregation. I have received £1 from Mr. John Armstrong, Lancaster, and the Fellowship Fund of the Paradise-Street Chapel, Liverpool, who strongly recommend the case, offer £10, in the event of measures being adopted to procure the requisite amount. It is thought undesirable to incur the expense of applying separately to the several Fellowship Funds, and it is earnestly hoped that those who have the management of them will judge it proper to bring the case of the poor weavers of Padiham before their friends, at their earliest convenience. From benevolent individuals also aid is respectfully and earnestly solicited. If there are those who cannot afford to give

so much as to make the sending of it by letter desirable, they may, I would suggest, induce their friends to join with them in contributing to the proposed object.

JOHN R. BEARD.

From our acquaintance with the circumstances of the Unitarians of Padiham we deem their case highly worthy of the attention of the Unitarian public.

HENRY CLARKE, Unitarian Missionary.

JOHN ASHWORTH, Newchurch, Rosendale.

GEORGE BUCKLAND, Bennenden, Kent.

Case of the Unitarian Society at Yeovil, Somerset.

To the Editor.

SIR,

As the able and benevolent conductor of the Repository, I beg to submit to your attention, and that of your numerous readers, a brief statement of the case of the Unitarian Society at Yeovil, Somerset.

The congregation, though never very large, has, till within a few years, maintained its numbers and respectability; though from a variety of unfavourable circumstances, it is now considerably reduced. In the year 1810, the old meeting-house, which was built in the beginning of the last century, was found to be in such a dilapidated state, as to render it necessary to take it entirely down and rebuild it. This was accordingly effected at the almost sole expense of the Society, who raised among themselves between £800 and £900, leaving only a debt of £200, which was generously lent by a respectable member, and for which he received no interest.

Afterwards the affairs of the chapel were in a flourishing state for some time, and all the sittings let, and respectably filled. But in the course of a few years afterward, owing to the want of skill or honesty in the parties who contracted for the building, the roof was found to be so badly constructed, as to render it necessary to take it off and replace it, at the expense of nearly £200. This sum was also contributed by voluntary subscription from themselves. The congregation had, however, suffered a very material loss, in the course of a few preceding years, by the decease and removal of several of its most efficient members, which not only rendered it impossible to pay off the aforementioned debt, but the salary of the minister was thereby reduced; by which the present worthy

pastor, who has a large family, has been greatly straitened; especially as out of his small stipend, he has had to pay a house-rent, which in this town is very considerable.

Under these circumstances, as the salary, which is raised by a few individuals, cannot be further increased, it has been suggested by a benevolent friend, (who though a non-resident, is a liberal annual subscriber,) that if an economical dwelling-house could be erected in a field belonging to the congregation, it would prove an essential benefit, not only to the present minister, but also to his successors. As an encouragement to the undertaking, the same benevolent lady generously offers to subscribe £100, provided the Society will endeavour to supply the deficiency; but this deficiency would, independent of the former debt, amount to at least £200, and considering their recent and former exertions, and their small number, it is too great for the congregation to raise. They are therefore reduced to the necessity of appealing to the Unitarian public, which they now do, with a humble but confident persuasion, that the appeal will not be made in vain.

For the information of those friends who may not be acquainted with our locality, I beg to observe, that Yeovil is situated in the centre of a populous manufacturing district, in which it is advisable to support a cause that has hitherto stood its ground, though exposed to much opposition; especially as the number of stated attendants at the chapel has much increased within the last two or three years, (though our finances are not yet much improved,) and considering the gradual advancement of liberal sentiments, consequent on the present times, there is much reason to hope that the interest will continue to revive in this town.

SAMUEL FAWCETT.

Case of the Unitarian Society at Wolverhampton.

To the Editor.

SIR,

May 1, 1830.

IN the year 1817, the Unitarian congregation of Wolverhampton were compelled to retire from their accustomed place of meeting in St. John Street, in consequence of the officiating minister, the Rev. John Steward, becoming a Calvinist, which led to a tedious and expensive suit in Chancery, not yet determined. Since this period they have assembled regularly for religious worship, in a large

school-room, which they have rented at a considerable expense. The morning service has been usually conducted by one of their members, Mr. Pearson, and occasionally by other individuals of the congregation; and in the evening supplies were liberally afforded by the Unitarian ministers in the neighbourhood. By these exertions the Society has been kept together for upwards of twelve years.

But the precarious state of Mr. Pearson's health, and other circumstances, rendered it at length advisable that a stated minister should be invited to settle among them. Accordingly, in compliance with their unanimous invitation, the Rev. Stephenson Hunter, of Crumlin, near Belfast, entered on the pastoral charge of the congregation in February last; under whose ministry there is good reason to expect progressive benefit to the cause of rational and practical religion in this populous neighbourhood.

The inconvenience of their present place of meeting has induced the congregation to determine on the erection of a suitable chapel, and to make their appeal to the Unitarian public (from whom they have already experienced so much warm sympathy and liberal encouragement) for assistance in the accomplishment of so necessary an object.

Two hundred pounds have been already subscribed within their own circle, and it is computed that about six hundred or seven hundred pounds more will be requisite to complete their design. As it is their intention to defer the commencement of the building until all the necessary funds have been raised, they respectfully but earnestly request, that they may be favoured with an early communication from those individuals, Fellowship Funds, and other Associations, to whom their case may appear worthy of their generous sympathy and assistance.

Signed on behalf of the congregation, by

JOSEPH PEARSON,
JOSEPH BAKER,
BENJAMIN WALTON,
THOMAS SPANTON,
JAMES BRADSHAW,
ALEXANDER WALTON,
THOMAS LEE,
JAMES JENKS,
THOMAS JEVONS,
WILLIAM GILL,
FREDERICK WALTON.

May 4, 1830.

The Ministers, whose names are un-

dersigned, do, by their signatures, attest the correctness of this statement; and they heartily recommend the above case to the kind consideration of their friends:

ROBERT KELL, Birmingham.
JOHN KENTISH, Birmingham.
TIMOTHY DAVIS, Oldbury.

HUGH HUTTON, Birmingham.
ALEXANDER PATERSON, Stourbridge.
J. R. WREFORD, Birmingham.
SAMUEL BACHE, Dudley.
WILLIAM BOWEN, Cradley.
RICHARD FRY, Kidderminster.
EVAN JONES, Bewdley.
THOMAS BOWEN, Walsall.

INTELLIGENCE.

Oldbury Lecture.

ON September 14, the annual lecture took place at Oldbury. The devotional service having been conducted by the Rev. John Kentish, two sermons were preached; the former by the Rev. John Kenrick, from Dan. vi. 5, on "the Causes and Evil Nature and Effects of Intolerance in Religion;" the other, by the Rev. Thomas Bowen, from Acts xvii. 11, on "the Identity of genuine Protestantism with Dissent from the Characteristic Doctrine, &c., of the Established Church."

American Unitarian Association.

Fifth Annual Report, read at the Anniversary, held at Boston, May 25, 1830.

THE Fifth Anniversary assembles the members of this Association under circumstances of peculiar promise to the great interests for which they are united. After presenting, in obedience to their duty as officers of this Society, a sketch of their proceedings during the last year, the Executive Committee will offer some statements by which they hope to shew the justice of this remark.

Convinced by an observation of five years that the means of disseminating correct religious opinions, that is at once the most effectual and the least liable to objection, is the circulation of tracts, they have given to this their special attention; and within the last year have adopted two measures of some importance. The first series of tracts is now continued monthly, and may be regarded as a Unitarian periodical, which, alike by the regularity of its publication and the value of its contents, will satisfy the wishes of subscribers. A third series has been proposed, and pressing occupation only prevented the issue of the first

number before this time. It will be commenced immediately. It will be confined to biography of Unitarians distinguished for their services or their characters, and while exhibiting the efficacy of our faith in examples drawn from real life, will afford instruction and virtuous incitement to the reader. Four numbers, published at intervals of three months, will make a volume, worthy of a place in our libraries, and permanently valuable. The members of the Association will not be entitled to this series by virtue of their subscription; its continuance, therefore, will depend on the sale, which again will be determined by the desire that may be felt to possess a course of profitable and interesting works.—The publication of the second series of tracts was suspended, and has been only lately resumed, as the belief that a series, cheaper in price and more simple in character than the first series, would be popular, has not been confirmed. A tract of this kind will, however, be occasionally issued. Since the last Anniversary eleven new tracts have been printed, and new editions of four others.

The agency was transferred last September to Messrs. Gray and Bowen, whose interest and activity have given a new impulse to this branch of our operations. Soon after their appointment other business led Mr. Gray to undertake a journey through the southern and western States, from which he has just returned, having spent seven months in a tour, along the Atlantic coast, thence to New Orleans, and by the Mississippi and the Ohio to Lake Erie, and thence across the State of New York. Through this whole route he made it one of his principal objects to establish agencies and depositories, in which he was very successful. Our publications will now be

regularly transmitted to every part of our country. Mr. Gray also collected on his journey a great amount of information, and brought home a strong conviction that the means of reading and hearing what Unitarian Christians believe alone was wanted to work a great change, or rather to call forth an expression of sentiment already existing, in the minds of the people in most of the places which he visited.

Some appropriations have been made for the support of Unitarian preaching—in Maine, in Connecticut, in the western part of New York, and in Ohio. In some instances, these appropriations have enabled a missionary to visit various places, and in others they have been designed to assist members of particular societies in maintaining regular worship. The Committee do not deem it impertinent in them to express their views on this subject. Aware that this Association has raised its voice against measures, the tendency and effect of which are to sow discord in parishes, and to create churches whose strength shall be in the inverse ratio of their number, they have cautioned those persons who have been in their employment, against an intrusion upon the ecclesiastical order or the domestic harmony of a place. They do not encourage the wish of disaffected or aggrieved individuals to hear a different kind of preaching from that to which they have been accustomed, until they have legally organized a religious society; nor do they advise that this step be taken till there shall be a reasonable persuasion of an ability to support public worship. The multiplication of religious societies which must depend upon foreign aid for support is an evil, that is not compensated by the greater satisfaction the members find in listening to teachers whose sentiments they approve; for such reliance is precarious, the assistance is often inadequate to the wants of the people, and the ministry is in danger of becoming a feeble instrument, weakened if not degraded by the circumstances under which it is exercised. Where, however, small societies are formed, it is important that they should pursue their objects in the manner best adapted to promote their own spiritual comfort, and yet to prevent or allay unkind feeling in their respective towns. In cities and populous towns, the evils that accrue from division of small parishes are not felt, and in these places there can be no objection to Unitarian preaching, under circumstances calculated to secure attention and respect.

Even here, however, it is unwise to rest on the hope of assistance from abroad. Let each society attempt no more than it has within itself the ability to accomplish, and more will be done, while the inconvenience and disappointment to which we are now sometimes exposed will be avoided. These are general principles, the force and application of which may be qualified by circumstances, but of their correctness, as general principles, the Committee entertain no doubt.

The Domestic Mission, established in this city under the patronage of this Association, has continued to be a means of great good. The ministry at large in Boston is now sustained by four clergymen of different denominations, and though we do not claim the honour of taking the first step towards this result, it is not doubtful that the success of Dr. Tuckerman's labours, and the proof they afforded of the practicability and excellence of the plan, recommended it to other friends of the poor. His services the last year have been interrupted only by the frequent debility of a frame unequal to the exertions which his office imposes. Two semi-annual Reports have been published, the latter of which is particularly valuable. We regard this ministry as among the great blessings of our city. We believe, that as an auxiliary to the police, and as a preventive of crime, it might even be supported at the public expense, and that as a source of relief, and comfort, and hope, to the children of poverty, and to others who have fallen from a better condition, its benefits cannot be described.

Correspondence has been maintained with persons in different parts of the country. Information has been gathered from the north, the centre, the south, and the west, and in return we have sent sometimes our sympathy, sometimes our preachers, and sometimes our tracts. Of these, a considerable amount have occasionally been placed in the hands of individuals, for gratuitous distribution.

Our foreign correspondence has been conducted with some activity, but we have had occasion to regret the absence of our Foreign Secretary. On his return, more frequent communication will take place between us and our brethren abroad. From the British Association we have received expressions of fraternal regard. Nothing of peculiar interest has occurred in England, but in Ireland opinion has assumed a tone that augurs much good. The cause of religious truth and liberty has been espoused by numbers, and advocated with an earnestness

and power worthy of their purpose. Never has Irish fervour been kindled from a holier fire, and never has Irish eloquence poured itself forth in nobler strains.—Our tracts have been read with approbation in England; and in March, an order was received from the Western Unitarian Society, for one hundred copies of most of those which we had published.

On the continent of Europe, we have been informed that there are indications of the progress of rational views of Christianity. But it must be slow, when obliged to overcome the intellectual and moral darkness, the social and religious disadvantages, and the force of prescription, under some of which evils all the countries of continental Europe labour, and by all of which some of them are oppressed.

No change by which the condition of Christian Unitarianism in Calcutta would be affected, has occurred since our last Report. From William Roberts, the native teacher near Madras, gratifying intelligence has been received. He is preparing his sons to assist and succeed him in the ministry, and the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association have undertaken to educate one of them in England.

The receipts and expenditures of the past year, and the present state of the funds of the Association, are exhibited in the statement of the Treasurer.

In regard to the resources of the Association, the Committee must repeat the suggestion which they have made in former Reports. Our dependence must be on auxiliaries. The attempt to collect the subscriptions of individuals is pronounced by the Treasurer tedious, difficult, and almost fruitless. The expense is great, and the inconvenience such as to dissuade the Committee from using this means of augmenting their funds. It is through auxiliaries alone that the treasury can be enabled to meet the demands made on it. It is on them alone that the Committee can rest their calculations respecting the ability of this Association to satisfy the wants of the land. The people are thirsting for instruction. They call to us to give it to them from the press and from the pulpit—in the silent pamphlet, and through the living teacher. We cannot refuse them without a pang keener than his who is obliged to see bodily want that he cannot relieve. Here are the wants of the mind, its immortal wants, lifting up the cry for help. For the sake of that charity, which is the best of all

forms of this best of graces, by their love for the souls of men, we intreat our brethren to have compassion on the needy. We ask them to give us the means of Christian benevolence, and we not only remind them of our divine Master's words, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," but we shew them how they may make the very act of contribution an occasion of self-improvement. The Committee have recently published some remarks, the object of which is to present a plan by which the local interests of a society, and the interests of this Association, may be combined. This tract has been widely distributed, and they cannot forbear to press its suggestions upon the notice of their friends. They think the time has come when they may say that it is their belief that the existence of an auxiliary in every Unitarian society, would promote the welfare of that society scarcely less than it would benefit this Association; while, if these auxiliaries should be formed and maintained, nothing that we foresee could prevent the wide, and free, and fair dissemination of our faith.

Having thus reviewed our own proceedings, we shall exhibit, in as brief a compass as will allow distinctness to the several objects, a view of the present state and resources of Unitarian Christianity in this country. We have taken some pains to collect the facts which we shall use, and though some of the statements may not be perfectly correct, and some of our conclusions may be precipitate, yet we shall offer nothing for which we do not think we have sufficient authority.

The Unitarians of the United States may be arranged under four divisions. The first includes the Christians, who sprang up almost contemporaneously, yet without any knowledge each part of the other, in New England and in the South-western States, being principally in the latter region seceders from the Presbyterians and Methodists, and in the former from the Baptists. This denomination has rapidly increased, not only in the East but the West, and in the Middle States and in Canada. They are zealous advocates of spiritual liberty, and are generally, though not unanimously, Unitarians. Every week swells their numbers; their ministers are earnest and laborious preachers; they support three or four periodicals; their operations have been confined principally to the uneducated part of the community; but they are acquiring a strength which must soon

give them an influence on public sentiment.

The Universalists, with but few exceptions, form the second division. They believe in the inferiority of Jesus Christ to the Father; but most of them differ from us essentially in regard to the consequences of sin. This sect has grown very much within a few years, and has its own periodicals and ministerial conferences.

A third division embraces those persons who, from whatever cause, have been prevented from avowing their faith in Unitarian Christianity, but are in heart its disciples. Many such persons, we have reason to believe, are in the land. Some of them need encouragement and sympathy, others are so situated that they may think a profession of their belief would be productive of more evil than good; and still more cherish our opinions, having drawn them from Scripture and matured them in their own thoughts, without knowing that they harboured the heresy of Unitarianism; for how could they know it, when the system which was held up for their abhorrence, with this name branded on its forehead, bore no resemblance either to their faith or to ours? Many instances have come to our knowledge of individuals thus situated, who, after hearing a fair exposition of our belief, have declared that they had long been Unitarians.

The last division is composed of those who are formed into Unitarian Congregational societies. To this class belong the members of this Association, and to them we shall now confine our remarks.

In the beginning of this Report it was said, that we meet under circumstances of peculiar encouragement. Since the last anniversary, thirteen ordinations and installations have taken place, and the days are appointed for four more. Besides which, the number of vacant parishes exceeds the number of candidate preachers in the proportion of three to two; several new societies have been formed, and others have become Unitarian. The present number of Unitarian Congregational societies in Massachusetts is 147, of which 118 are supplied with ordained ministers; in Maine, 12 societies, 8 ministers; in New Hampshire, 11 societies, 10 ministers; in Vermont, 3 societies, 1 minister; in Rhode Island, 2 societies, 2 ministers; in Connecticut, 2 societies, 1 minister.

Total in New England, 177 societies, 140 ministers.

In the other States of the Union the

Congregational societies are few, but they have been gathered in most instances by Unitarians; who have five societies in New York with three ministers, five in Pennsylvania with two ministers, one in the District of Columbia, and one in each of the states of Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Ohio.

Total of Congregational Unitarian societies in the United States 193; of settled ministers 147.

While the increase of societies in New England has been greater than could be supplied with constant preaching, the churches at a distance are—with a single exception, where the house has been closed for want of a preacher,—in a better condition in regard to temporal affairs than they were a year ago; and so far as an interest in public worship, a devotion to the truth, and a life of practical piety are evidences of spiritual prosperity, we have reason to rejoice with them; for “walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of a holy spirit, they have been multiplied.”

The development of opinion in the Western States deserves special mention. In our last Report it was stated that a society had been formed in Cincinnati, the key to the whole valley of the Mississippi. In the course of the last autumn, Rev. Mr. Pierpont, of this city, spent some time in Cincinnati, and extended his visit to Kentucky and Missouri. During this journey he had frequent opportunities of ascertaining the desire of the people to be instructed in a rational faith, and the necessity of inculcating simple views of religion that they might be saved from scepticism, or indifference, or even contempt and warfare against religious institutions. Mr. Pierpont preached in Louisville, and in St. Louis, by request, and the gospel which he preached was heard gladly, both by the common people and by men of intelligence and influence. At Louisville a Unitarian society has since been formed, and at Cincinnati a church has just been dedicated. The impressions of other gentlemen, who have visited these States, are such as must have been produced by a discovery of the wants and wishes of the inhabitants; wants which Unitarian Christianity alone can satisfy, and wishes which look to us for the means of gratification.

In the western part of the State of New York, opportunities have been presented for planting our faith in minds eager to receive it, of which the Committee have been unable to avail them-

selves. The society in Rochester, repeatedly disappointed in their hope of fixing among them a minister, still continue their exertions. The violent means pursued to give religious sentiment a preponderance over error and worldliness, have produced a reaction, which it is exceedingly important to controul, lest it should leap the barriers of Christian faith and social order. We cannot, indeed, express our anxiety for those portions of our Union, where society has not yet fallen into regular habits of thought, from the waves of feeling and passion which belong to recent settlement. We regard these fields as full of promise for the Christian labourer, teeming as they are with new life, but from their very fertility liable to be covered with the tares of the evil one.

Having given what we conceive to be a just view of the state of Unitarianism in our country, we proceed to notice the resources which it has for a wider diffusion of its principles. Independently of its intrinsic excellence and of the impulse which it may receive from the virtues and the prayers of its disciples, it possesses certain exterior and incidental means of dissemination; and its progress may be greatly accelerated by a judicious use of these means. They are its benevolent associations, its periodical and other publications, and its preachers. A few words will exhibit the present condition of each of these means.

The societies which make the diffusion of Unitarian Christianity their sole object, are, besides our own, these five: The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, Piety and Charity, was established—by Emerson, Buckminster, Kirkland, and others, among the dead and the living, whose names are dear to us,—for the purpose of printing cheap religious books. They redeemed the pledge they gave in their constitution, by the successive numbers of the *Christian Monitor*. For some years this society has been inactive, but it has a considerable fund, and is intending to resume its operations.

The Evangelical Missionary Society was originally formed in the counties of Worcester and Middlesex for the purpose of affording aid to feeble churches. This society has been very useful, and continues, by its annual appropriations, to sustain many who might without its aid despond.

The hope is entertained that in future years these two societies will unite with this Association in the celebration of their anniversaries.

The Society for the Promotion of Christianity in India has valuable funds at its disposal, and when a proper opportunity shall occur, its officers will be ready to follow the intimations of Providence.

The Unitarian Book and Pamphlet Society, though it has been in operation only three years, has done extensive good. While it is independent of this Association, it co-operates with it most effectually, and as the distributor of our tracts, and the pioneer of our missionaries, its aid is every year seen to be more important.

The Boston Sunday-School Society has been but partially successful in that branch of its operations which consists in publishing juvenile books, in consequence of embarrassments, which will soon be removed. In other respects it has been eminently useful; in drawing attention to the subject of Sunday-schools by its circulars, in strengthening the interest felt in this subject by its annual celebrations, and in quickening the zeal and enlightening the judgment of teachers by its quarterly meetings. The Report read at the last anniversary afforded conclusive evidence of its usefulness. Sunday-schools, which a few years since, were rare among us, are now almost universal, and have become subjects of deep regard.

Our periodical publications are also five. The *Christian Register* has been conducted the last year with spirit and industry. The *Unitarian Advocate* has passed from the hands of its former editor, but has retained its character for ability, and practical value. The *Christian Teacher's Manual* has also appeared in a new series, but is supported by the same talented and judicious writers. The *Liberal Preacher* offers its monthly selection from the manuscripts of our living divines; and the *Christian Examiner*, uniting sound literary judgment to a fervent spirit of religious inquiry, is exerting an influence upon opinions and morals to which it is richly entitled.

The third instrument which we may use for the spread of our faith is the ministry, the institution which Jesus Christ himself founded, when he sent forth his apostles to preach the everlasting gospel. The age demands an intelligent, active, and disinterested ministry. It is more important than our words can shew, that such a ministry be educated for our churches. We have one Theological School, and the Committee do not think the slightest exaggeration was used when it was styled, by a recent ad-

vocate of its claims, "the great religious charity of the day." It stands in the front of those institutions which Unitarian Christians should be anxious to foster. The ill health of one of the Professors, which has obliged him to resign a part of his duties, and the absence of another, who was induced to seek a foreign climate by the same cause, have been unfortunate circumstances, but the school at Cambridge has been, since our last meeting, more prosperous than at any former period. Nothing could exhibit more clearly the importance of this seminary, or the advance of our faith, than the facts, that though the Directors established last summer a regulation, restraining the members of the School from preaching, they have been compelled by the imperious wants of the churches to suspend the operation of the rule in many cases, and that at this time several, who if the prescribed term of preparation had been observed would now be at Cambridge, are ordained clergymen, or are under engagements to settle in the ministry. These facts should be known, that serious young men, whose desire is for usefulness, may enter on a path which is sure to lead them to it, and that they, who can give substantial patronage, may enlarge the means of education possessed by this School.

After this sketch of the state and resources of our denomination, the Committee will only glance at a few reasons for activity and effort, which they think may be urged with pertinency at this time; and, in doing this, they will complete their duty in submitting this Report, by adverting to some of the aspects of society about us.

We regard the extension of our faith as the great means of opposing and subverting error in opinion, and should therefore use all upright means of giving it currency and securing for it favour. There are two extremes in error, against each of which Unitarian Christianity directs its force, and is in the hand of him who wields it a two-edged sword, to cut down with equal ease the sophisms of infidelity and the absurdities of fanaticism. Within a year or two past some alarm has been excited by the efforts of a few individuals in some parts of our country to disseminate the rankest form of unbelief, even to convert this people into a nation of Atheists. The attempt was too preposterous to be successful, and by its very extravagance and effrontery is defeating itself. We are confident that if evangelical Unitarianism be

preached intelligibly and earnestly—and how else can it be preached by one who reverences it as the gift of God—they to whom the advocates of infidelity address themselves will be prepared to repel their arguments and to rebuke their sneers.

Another kind of scepticism is far more dangerous because it attacks minds of a higher order. It is often, if not in most instances, occasioned by false representations of divine truth, and can be supplanted only by shewing that the religion of the New Testament is not a religion of mystery, contradiction, or fanatical excess. That infidelity of this character exists in our land, and that it has tainted some souls of a noble mould we know, and we are anxious that the Christian revelation should be presented to them in its original beauty, for we believe that they would acknowledge its heavenly origin, and embrace it with a cordial faith.

Towards the other extreme of error, we find the various corruptions of the gospel, by which it has been despoiled of its simplicity, and arrayed in the poor inventions of human wisdom. So far as we have been able to mark the current of events or to note the changes of opinion, it seems to us that error is growing to be ashamed of its absurdities, though it retains its attachment to old names. In much of this controversy about names, we discern an indication of consciousness of improvement. Let this improvement go on silently where it cannot advance openly, but as we desire that the pure religion of the Saviour of mankind should take the place of every error that assumes to be Christian, we shall be diligent in extending the knowledge of our faith.

We discover another incitement to this work in the tendency of our faith to resist and quell the spirit of exclusion, which, if not checked would sweep the land as with the breath of pestilence. We abhor from our souls bigotry, and uncharitableness, and every form and shape of spiritual arrogance. We will neither be politicians in religion nor religionists in politics. We will worship God according to our persuasion of duty, whether others call it heresy or not, and let them worship God after the manner of their belief, whether we think it right or wrong. Unitarian Christianity, as we understand it, and as we would diffuse it, is essentially a free faith, giving freedom to those who hold it, and not forging chains for its opposers. For this reason we value it, and according to our respect for the rights of the mind, our sense of

the worth of intellectual and religious liberty, and our determination to oppose to the last breath every attempt to fetter and trammel theological investigation, will be the earnestness of our endeavours to disseminate religious truth, knowing that where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

Occasionally during the last year, our opinions and our friends have been assailed by language as indecorous as it was unchristian, but denunciation has lost its power, and we believe that among those who think us in great error, a more just spirit prevails. A party may press its measures without regard to propriety or truth, but it will be found that they sacrifice also their character and gain nothing. Virulence and exclusiveness, if not successful in their objects, cover those who use them with shame.

But, above all other reasons, we burn with a desire to propagate our faith, because we believe that it is the great instrument of staying and subduing irreligion. It is because Unitarian Christianity is the power of God unto salvation to every one who believes it as it ought to be believed, that we are chiefly anxious to multiply facilities for its progress through the world. We believe that our Master, when he ascended to his Father and his God, left it to carry on the work for which he came,—to call sinners to repentance. We believe that he taught and suffered, that he might make men partakers of the Divine holiness, and that the religion which lawfully bears his name, must have this for its object and effect. Therefore we wish not only ourselves to be followers of Christ, but to bring others to walk with us. Therefore we would labour to remove every obstacle in the way of this faith, and would win others to its love and obedience. We see vice and crime, private and public sin, personal and social wickedness on every side of us; the moral atmosphere in which we live is not pure. We would send the spirit of our religion through it; we would hold up to general view those solemn truths and affecting revelations and momentous sanctions by which the careless may be moved, and the perverse be humbled; by which they who are disobedient may be reclaimed, and they who are in the way of righteousness may be animated to perseverance.

With this estimation of our faith we would not only live and die *by* it, but we would live, and if Providence require the immolation, we would die *for* it. We can hardly repress our astonishment

when we hear Unitarian Christianity reproached as a lax system, as a faith deficient in moral power. We can hardly hold our peace, when any one who professes to understand it, does not perceive its practical and spiritual character. These are in our eyes its peculiar features. We are not ignorant that the best and the only satisfactory proof that we can give to others of its moral efficacy is its influence on ourselves. We do not deem it without our province to remind our brethren, in the language of an apostle, that they who have believed in God should be careful to maintain good works. It is said by some who differ from us that this belief is not sufficient to work this effect. We ask no other faith than that which makes the God, whom Jesus Christ revealed, the centre of its thoughts and aims; and if we do not shew forth the power of this faith in our characters, we have not learned the alphabet of our religion.

The world is crying out for truth, and freedom, and holiness. These are the three great blessings of man. We believe that Unitarian Christianity confers them all, and therefore we labour and pray that it may become universal.

Dissenting Ministers' Meeting for the Abolition of Slavery.

THE General Body of Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations, residing in London and its neighbourhood, has resolved on petitioning the Legislature for the total abolition of Slavery in the Colonies. The ministers of the "Trinitarian Union" have also agreed on a petition, and the opportunity was taken to add another clause to the creed of the "Union," excluding, or seeming to exclude, Antinomians.

Lady Hewley's Fund.

PROCEEDINGS have been instituted in the Court of Chancery, by the filing of a Bill in the name of Thomas Wilson and others, against the Trustees of Lady Hewley's Fund. The immediate effect has, of course, been to stop the payments from this extensive charity, and to produce no inconsiderable degree of distress amongst those who were looking to it for aid, including many of the same faith with those who have committed this act of wanton mischief. The spoiler is abroad. He must be resisted and discomfited in this first attempt. Putting

him to shame is hopeless. Should he succeed, there is no saying how far the system of Evangelical appropriation may extend. But the time must be gone by in this country. It is lamentable to think, however, how many poor ministers, how many widows and orphans, must suffer by this savage species of Trinitarian hostility.

British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

THE premium announced in our number for April for a Tract, "the object of which shall be the introduction and promotion of Unitarian Christianity among the Roman Catholics," has been unanimously awarded, by the judges appointed by the Committee for that purpose, to Miss H. Martineau, for her Essay, entitled "The Essential Faith of the Universal Church deduced from the Sacred Records." The Essay will be printed immediately for circulation.

It has been proposed by two gentlemen to offer a premium of Ten Guineas for the best Essay on the following question :

"Upon the Evidence of the History, commonly called the Acts of the Apostles, and the concurrent Testimony of St. Paul in his Epistles, what, in the

Apostolic Age, was the Form or Mode of Christian Baptism?"

Candidates must send in their Essays (to which should be affixed a motto, and accompanied by a sealed letter containing the motto and the writer's name) on or before the 1st of February next, to Mr. Horwood, at the Office of the Monthly Repository, No. 3, Walbrook Buildings.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Preparing for publication, by John R. Beard, "Unitarian Worthies; or Biographical Notices of Eminent Unitarians from the earliest Ages of Christianity down to the present Day."

In the press, the second volume of Sermons, by the late Rev. S. Buckminster, of Boston, U. S., with a Memoir of his Life by Thacher, omitted in the reprint of the first volume.

Recently published, a Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Social and Private Worship. By L. Lewis, Dorchester.

Religious Prejudice Overcome, by a careful examination of the Old and New Testament, a Serious Address to Christian Professors. By Mrs. Charles Toogood.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications have been received from N. G. ; P. ; W. T. ; Dr. Carpenter ; M. ; A Christian Moslem ; J. B. ; A. M'Cready ; W. Allard ; and J. W. Morris.

"No Bigot" has defended points which were not attacked. The writer alluded to a passage in the work under review.

We have inquired, and have received a distinct confirmation of Mr. B.'s own statement, which, therefore, we must assume to be correct.

We are not critical as to Obituaries ; but we demur to the "much admired peroration." Our columns sufficiently shew what we deem admissible.

The insertion of the American Unitarian Association Report has compelled us to defer several articles of Intelligence, &c., to the next number.

Publications, which it is expected or desired that we should notice, those especially of Unitarian Authors or Editors, should be forwarded to our Office.